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The Province of East Jersey 1609-1702

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In our last issue we presented "The Indians of New Jersey," beginning a special series of articles planned to deal in a readable fashion with certain highspots of New Jersey history. Below is the second article. Dr. Russell B. Francis, of the College of South Jersey, is author of the third, on the history of proprietary West Jersey, which will appear in the July issue.

Two hundred and fifty years ago this month a major epoch in the history of New Jersey came to an end when the proprietors of both East Jersey and West Jersey relinquished their powers of government to the crown. The two Jerseys were then united under a royal governor, and relative calm succeeded the turbulence and near-anarchy that had frequently marked the proprietary regime. With all its bewildering complexities, the proprietary period is at once one of the most interesting and most significant segments of the history of New Jersey, for it was in these early times that certain patterns and institutions were established that were to endure long after the names of Berkeley and Carteret had faded from the memories of men. Of the two Jerseys that had their separate existence for nearly forty years,

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East Jersey can rightfully lay claim to priority of settlement. This, then, is the story of the elder of a set of non-identical historical twins.

The Dutch Background

The present-day region of New Jersey probably first became known to European discoverers when Giovanni da Verrazano, a Florentine sailing under the flag of France, skirted the coast in 1524. Nearly a century passed, however, before discovery was followed by exploration and settlement. On September 3, 1609, the heroic English seaman, Henry Hudson, in command of the tiny Dutch yacht *Half Moon,* dropped anchor inside Sandy Hook on his way northward from Virginia. Impressed with the potentialities of the country, he and his men spent a week exploring Raritan Bay and the waters around Staten Island before continuing on to the river that now bears his name.

Hudson's account of the region aroused considerable interest in Holland, and soon such adventuresome Dutch seafarers as Captains Block, Christiaensen, and Mey were making trading voyages to the Delaware and the Hudson. With the chartering in 1621 of the Dutch West India Company, settlements and trading posts appeared from Fort Nassau (Gloucester, N.J.) on the south to Fort Orange (Albany, N.Y.) on the north. At the center of this activity was New Amsterdam (Manhattan Island), purchased from the Indians in 1626 in an enviable real estate transaction.

Exactly when the Dutch began to settle across the river from New Amsterdam is far from clear. There is some evidence that a trading place was established as early as 1618 at what later became the town of Bergen. Probably there were but few families permanently located west of the Hudson before 1640. Even after that date the Dutch inhabitants were relatively small numerically, in part because trade rather than agriculture was their main interest and in part because of the resistance they encountered from the Indians. Between 1641 and 1645 there was almost constant warfare, which resulted in the virtual annihilation of the aborigines in the vicinity and gave a check to Dutch expansion. Not until around 1660 did the orbit of Dutch influence extend much beyond the present boundaries of Hudson County. In fact

it was under English rule, after 1664, that the main movement of the Dutch into New Jersey took place.

Nevertheless, the half-century of Dutch control left a lasting mark upon the colony. Place names such as Hoboken, Pavonia, Bergen, Horismus, Paulus Hook, and Communipaw gained acceptance. The taking up of virgin lands under formal patents, the first step in the process of orderly settlement, was begun. Indian paths became crude roads; Indian foods were sampled and adapted to European usage. Not least in importance was the introduction of a sturdy group of Dutch pioneers who were to leave their stamp for generations on the economic, religious, and cultural life in the northeastern section of the colony.

Bordered on both the north and the south by colonies of England, the Dutch outposts—never strong and generally neglected by authorities in the mother country—faced a clouded future. In retrospect, at least, it seemed that the English must someday remove the salient which pierced the line of their North American possessions. As early as 1634 the Dutch holdings were being regarded with a covetous eye. In that year the romantic Sir Edmund Plowden and a group of associates received a patent under the Privy Seal of Ireland for the region embracing what is now Long Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. In the same year, Captain Thomas Young and his nephew Robert Evelyn visited the Delaware area, and Evelyn's enthusiastic account of what he had seen, written after his return to England, stimulated interest in the region. A decade later, Plowden visited his patent, which he called New Albion, but after a few years he gave up any attempt at colonization. No more was heard of his project until 1784, when one Charles Varlo, claiming to represent Plowden's heirs, appeared in New Jersey and presumtuously directed all "usurpers" to secure valid deeds to their lands from him. This abortive effort by Plowden, and some trading ventures by interloping companies of New England and Virginia colonists, constituted the total of English activity in the Hudson-Delaware country down to 1664.

The restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 marked a resurgence of English interest in American colonizing ventures and foretold conflict with the Dutch. Ignoring Holland's claims,

Charles II on March 12, 1664, conferred on his impecunious brother, James, Duke of York—who was also Lord High Admiral—a vast domain that included all the region between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, as well as outlying parcels in New England. Armed with this warrant, the Duke dispatched a small fleet to America in April and by August had forced the Dutch to capitulate. For the next three years there was war between Holland and England, but when peace was restored by the Treaty of Breda in 1667, England retained the former Dutch colonies in North America.

Foundations of the Proprietorship

After the Duke's expedition had sailed for New York, but before the Dutch surrender, James decided to parcel out a portion of his prospective domain to two friends who had remained faithful to the Stuart cause throughout the long years of civil discord which followed the execution of Charles I. Accordingly on June 23-24, 1664, he granted to John, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret

> all that tract of land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the westward of Long Island, and Manhitas Island, and bounded on the east part by the main sea, and part by Hudson's river, and hath upon the west Delaware bay or river, and extendeth southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May at the mouth of Delaware bay; and to the northward as far as the northermost branch of the said bay or river of Delaware, which is [in] forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude, and crosseth over thence in a strait line to Hudson's river in forty-one degrees of latitude; which said tract of land is hereafter to be called by the name or names of New Ceaserea or New Jersey . . . *

As the proprietors of this grant, Berkeley and Carteret owned in common all the land in New Jersey and, in addition, exercised governmental powers over the province.

This transaction was not known to Colonel Richard Nicolls when, in the name of the Duke, he assumed jurisdiction over the territories conquered from the Dutch. Until late in 1665, he continued to regard New Jersey as part of the Duke's possessions. Acting on this assumption, he proceeded to dispose of two large tracts in New Jersey to groups of settlers, thereby introducing

*Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (2nd ed., Somerville, N.J., 1881), p. 10.

into the land system of the colony a complication that was to be productive of discord for more than a century.

On December 1, 1664, after months of negotiations, Nicolls gave a patent to several "associates" from Jamaica, Long Island, for a region that extended from the Raritan to the Passaic and ran some thirty miles into the back country. In accordance with English practice, the settlers paid the Indians for the land and received from them a deed. The purchase price consisted of "twenty fathom of trading cloth, two made coats, two guns, two kettles, ten barrs of lead, twenty handfuls of powder." Soon a small community was organized, which was named Elizabethtown in honor of Sir George Carteret's wife. A similar patent granted lands south of Raritan Bay to families from western Long Island and Rhode Island, who founded Shrewsbury and Middletown early in 1665. An added feature of the Monmouth Patent was the provision which permitted the inhabitants to have their own elective assembly. Thus it was that when Governor Philip Carteret—a distant cousin of the proprietor—reached New Jersey in August, 1665, to assume the government of the province, two large and potentially valuable tracts had been alienated by Nicolls.

For a time this curious situation caused no difficulty. Carteret seemingly accepted what had transpired and, to complicate matters further, he became a shareholder in the Elizabethtown Associates and participated in the sale of the lower half of their tract to men from New England in December, 1666. From this transaction the towns of Woodbridge and Piscataway originated. Then, in July, 1667, Carteret sanctioned the purchase from the Indians by groups of ultra-Puritans from the old New Haven colony of the area bounded by Newark Bay, the Passaic, and the Watchungs. These people had arrived on the ground the year before, and they named their little theocracy Newark. Within a few years of the Dutch surrender, then, six towns had come into existence. To these must be added the Dutch settlement at Bergen, which received a charter in September, 1668.

When the twenty-six-year-old Philip Carteret arrived in the province, the proprietary regime was inaugurated. The youthful governor brought with him a frame of government, "The Con-

cession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors . . . ," which was intended by Berkeley and Carteret to offer liberal inducements—political, economic, and religious—to prospective settlers. This document, commonly known as the "Concessions," was to be the basic constitution of East Jersey for nearly forty years and was to contribute to the establishment of traditions of freedom that endured long beyond the proprietary period.

It gave to the colonists a remarkable degree of self-government. Each year, on January 1, the freeholders of the towns were to elect delegates to an assembly. This body, together with the governor and an appointive council of six to twelve men, was to compose the General Assembly. In this legislature were vested all law-making powers, including the power to levy taxes, constitute courts, provide for defense, naturalize foreigners, and prescribe allotments of land. Moreover, the inhabitants were guaranteed the right to "freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion" and the right to be taxed only by the General Assembly. The only checks on the legislature's powers were the provisions that its acts must be consistent with the laws and customs of England and must receive the approval of the Lords Proprietors.

The Concessions also laid down the principles that were to govern the distribution of land. Settlers arriving within the first three years were promised "head-right" grants of from 60 to 150 acres of land, with lesser amounts in addition for each servant. For these grants the holders were to pay the proprietors an annual quitrent of a halfpenny an acre, beginning in 1670. Towns were to be laid out in an orderly manner, with one-seventh of the land reserved for the proprietors; the remainder could be disposed of to settlers at quitrents of a penny or halfpenny an acre, according to the value of the land. Titles to land rested on patents issued under the seal of the province after the land had been surveyed and the bounds recorded. Most of the landholdings under this system were to be relatively small in size, but there were a few grants made by Carteret—such as the Berry, Sandford, and Morris grants—that ran to thousands of acres. In general, however, small homesteads, compactly settled in towns, were contemplated.

The Governorship of Philip Carteret

Under such a liberal constitution, it might have been anticipated that Carteret's governorship would be characterized by peaceful and orderly development of the province. Instead, his fifteen-year administration was distinguished by frequent disorders and governmental breakdowns. Difficulties arose in the main out of controversies over land titles and quitrents and out of quarrels with New York.

There was little forecast of future troubles when the first assembly—composed of two delegates each from the towns of Bergen, Newark, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, and Middletown —convened on May 26, 1668. This historic meeting, marking the beginnings of representative government in New Jersey, transacted its business with a minimum of dissension in a brief, five-day session. The General Assembly enacted a severe criminal code, provided for yearly meetings on the first Tuesday in November, and levied a provincial tax of £30 for the support of the government.

When a second General Assembly met in November, 1668, harmony was replaced by conflict. Delegates from the Monmouth Patent refused to take the prescribed oaths of fidelity to the proprietors on the grounds that to do so would jeopardize their rights under their grant from Nicolls. Furthermore, a dispute developed as to whether or not the assembly should sit separately from the governor and council. The meeting broke up in discord, and it was to be seven years before another legal assembly met.

This political breakdown was shortly aggravated by a major economic crisis. On March 25, 1670, in accordance with the terms of the Concessions, the first payment of quitrents came due. Down to this time most of the townspeople had neglected to take out patents for their lands from the proprietary authorities on the assumption that their titles, derived from the grants by Nicolls or from Indian deeds, were adequate. Consequently there was an almost general refusal to pay quitrents. Leading the resistance movement were the Elizabethtown Associates. Two years of bickering culminated in what amounted to an act of revolution. In May, 1672, an illegally constituted "assembly" met at Eliza-

bethtown, formally deposed Philip Carteret as governor, and elected James Carteret, son of the proprietor, "President of the Country." With the situation thus completely out of hand, the repudiated governor sailed back to England to obtain instructions from the Lords Proprietors. This "Revolution of 1672," as it has been styled, was due primarily to the conflict over land titles. It was undoubtedly influenced as well by the fact that a liberal political system encouraged the settlers to insist upon what they conceived to be their rights.

Before internal peace could be restored, there came an interruption from an unexpected quarter. Early in 1673 war broke out between England and Holland. The Dutch promptly dispatched a squadron across the Atlantic, which early in August reconquered New Netherlands. For nearly a year New Jersey was once more under the flag of Holland, but with the conclusion of peace the province was returned to proprietary control and Philip Carteret resumed his position as governor in November, 1674.

In the meantime, however, Lord Berkeley had sold his half interest in New Jersey to John Fenwick, who acted in behalf of Edward Byllynge, in March, 1674. Subsequently, by the Quintipartite Deed of July 1, 1676, the boundary between East and West Jersey was defined as a line running from Little Egg Harbor to the northwest corner of the province. Sir George Carteret retained East Jersey, for which he had received a new grant from the Duke of York on July 29, 1674.

For a few years peace was restored to East Jersey. On his return from England, Philip Carteret brought new instructions, which were in the nature of amendments to the old Concessions. Most important was the provision that only those who held their land by proprietary patent were to enjoy the rights of freeholders, among which were the rights to vote and hold office. Temporarily subdued, the townspeople gave up their former opposition, obediently secured patents for their lands, and began to pay the required rents. Meetings of the General Assembly were held on schedule, and it seemed that the province was embarked at last upon a sound course.

All went well until the year 1680, when once again the

province was thrown into turmoil. This time the difficulties were occasioned by the action of Sir Edmund Andros, the Duke of York's aggressive governor in New York. For some years Andros had been insisting upon the right of his government to tax and regulate the trade of East Jersey, and Carteret had been compelled to acquiesce. Now a more serious issue arose. Learning, perhaps, of the death of Sir George Carteret in January, 1680, Andros laid claim to the government of East Jersey in behalf of his master, the Duke. Philip Carteret, of course, resisted these pretensions. But on the night of April 30, a party of soldiers sent by Andros seized the hapless governor and forcibly carried him off to New York. There he was ignominiously forced to stand trial before a court over which his nemesis, Andros, presided. Despite Andros' efforts to overawe the jury, Carteret was acquitted of the charge of wrongfully exercising jurisdiction over New Jersey, but he was obliged to promise not to attempt the resumption of his authority until advice could be obtained from England.

While Carteret awaited a final decision on his fate, Andros appeared in Elizabethtown to meet the East Jersey assembly. After reading to the assembled delegates his dubious warrants of authority, he intimated that they were not to enjoy in the future the full political rights they had been granted in the past. Uncertain of their ground, the delegates were not disposed to clash directly with Andros, but they nevertheless contended for their rights as "free borne Englishmen." The session concluded abruptly when Andros had to return to New York, and neither side, apparently, had made any concessions.

This interlude came to an end in March, 1681, when word was received from England that the Duke had repudiated the actions of his governor. Back again in power, Governor Carteret soon discovered that the doubts cast upon his authority in the preceding months were not to be readily laid to rest. Ever since 1674 there had been rumblings of discontent over the changes that had been made in the Concessions in that year. When the General Assembly convened in October, 1681, these rumblings broke out in the form of a heated debate between the delegates and the governor and council. Charging that Sir George Carteret

had had no right to amend their fundamental constitution, the representatives went on to challenge the very foundations of the proprietary regime. The exchange continued for several days, and in the end, Carteret took the unprecedented action of dissolving the assembly. Where this "Revolution of 1681" might have terminated remains in doubt, for within the next year East Jersey passed into the hands of new owners and another era in its history began.

In spite of political turmoil, controversy over land titles, and annoyances from New York, East Jersey had become a well established colony. The emigration of people from New England and New York had given it a population of about five thousand, two-thirds of whom dwelled compactly together in the seven towns. The largest settlement, and the capital of the province, was Elizabethtown, with perhaps seven hundred residents. The landholding system encouraged a high degree of economic democracy. Most farms ranged between one hundred and two hundred acres in size; the few large grants that had been made were the exceptions to the rule. As yet there was little trade and virtually no industry outside the home. General, self-subsistence agriculture was the mainstay of the colonists. Religious interest was high. Most of the people were Puritans, but there were sizable numbers of Baptists in Piscataway and in the Monmouth region. Shrewsbury sheltered a small band of Quakers. Down to this time the fringe of settlement was largely restricted to the lower reaches of the Passaic, the Hackensack, and the Raritan. Internal communication was poor; it would sometimes take days for delegates from Middletown to reach the assembly meetings in Elizabethtown. The planting of a colony required hard toil and left little time for leisure or for luxuries, but the settlers had their reward in the sense of accomplishment that came as they saw a wilderness transformed into a region of civilized communities.

The Regime of the Twenty-Four

The Carteret period came to an end in 1682. Sir George Carteret had died early in 1680, and the trustees of his estate put the province up at public auction where it was purchased for £3,400 by a group of twelve men, among them William

Penn and some Quaker associates who were already interested in West Jersey. Very shortly twelve others, several of them Scots, were brought into the project. Thus East Jersey became the common property of the so-called "Twenty-Four Proprietors," on whom Carteret's claims to both soil and government devolved. Almost immediately the twenty-four original shareholders began to sell fractions of their whole shares to others, with the result that the proprietorship, instead of being vested in but one man, was divided among scores.

The new regime, which was inaugurated with the arrival in East Jersey of Thomas Rudyard as deputy-governor late in 1682, did not occasion any fundamental changes in the constitution of the province. The proprietors did send over a fanciful charter —the "Fundamental Constitution"—but it met with no favor because of its doctrinaire character, and no real attempt was made to impose it on the people. The assembly continued to be a powerful instrument for registering the will of the townsmen, and "ancient rights" were scrupulously defended.

Of major significance were the changes made in the land system by the Twenty-Four Proprietors, many of whom emigrated to America. In order to administer their vast joint holdings, they created the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey in August, 1684. Membership on the Board was restricted to those owning at least one-quarter of one of the twenty-four original shares. Land was distributed in the form of "dividends," authorized from time to time by the Board. The first such dividend, for example, gave to each holder of a full share the right to take up ten thousand acres of land and to each holder of a fractional share a proportionate right. Down to 1702 three such dividends, amounting to 17,500 acres on a share, were declared. Land was also allotted, as in the past, in the form of head-right grants to new arrivals. Each family head could obtain fifty acres for himself and twenty-five acres for each dependent, subject to the payment of a quitrent.

Under this new system there was a large and sudden increase in the amount of land in the province brought under individual ownership. Moreover, the fairly compact pattern of settlement that had hitherto prevailed quite broke down as land was

patented in many parts of the colony. More important, there now emerged a numerous group of large landholders, most of whom wished to lease rather than sell their lands and many of whom were absentee landlords. Thus there developed two distinct groups within the province, the small farmers who made up the bulk of the early settlers, and the land magnates who had come recently from England and Scotland. This situation in itself was sufficient to make for a sharp cleavage within the population, but going along with it was a continuation of the old quarrel over the validity of the Nicolls grants. The new proprietors, as had Carteret, chose to regard these grants as invalid, and accordingly authorized the taking up of vacant lands within the bounds of Elizabethtown under surveys approved by the Board of Proprietors and, further, renewed the demand for quitrents from those who had been induced to take out patents under Carteret. The result was a constant succession of bickerings, law suits, and political contests between the proprietors and their adversaries, the townsmen. Not until after the Revolution did this long-standing, and frequently bitter, controversy die out.

The character of the population also underwent important changes. Down to this time most of the inhabitants had migrated from other colonies. Now there was an influx of English and Scotch settlers. These new arrivals brought Anglicanism and Presbyterianism to the province, two denominations that had previously had but small followings. They also, particularly the Scots, added noticeably to the already heterogeneous character of the population. The center of the new proprietary influence was Perth Amboy, founded in 1683, which became the capital of the province, the home of the leading proprietors, and the headquarters of the Board of Proprietors.

For a few years the new regime went along smoothly and made important contributions in the governmental field. The old criminal code, harsh in the extreme, was greatly modified under the humane influence of the leading Quaker proprietors. A new level of government, intermediate between the towns and the provincial authority, emerged with the creation of four counties—Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, and Monmouth—in 1683. Commissioners were appointed to lay out roads, erect jails, and treat with

the Indians. The judicial system made a major advance when in 1683 the Court of Common Right was created along with county courts similar to those that had first appeared in 1675. There were even negotiations with New York in an effort to determine the location of the boundary between the two provinces, but a final settlement of this vexatious question had to wait until 1769. As the population of the province grew and new towns were founded, the size of the assembly was expanded until there were twenty-two delegates in all, representing eleven towns and the sub-county of Somerset.

Although it exhibited healthy signs of internal stability and progress, the province was soon jarred from its course by external difficulties. There was a revival of strained relations with New York over the question of customs duties when New Jersey shippers objected to making payments to the collector in New York. More serious was the threat from another quarter. Authorities in England after the accession of James II were meditating a plan for combining all of the northern colonies together under a single head. The blow fell on East Jersey early in 1688 when, threatened with *quo warranto* proceedings, the proprietors yielded up their powers of government to the crown and the province was absorbed into the Dominion of New England under Sir Edmund Andros. The practical effect of this move was to leave East Jersey with no functioning government above the local level until the autumn of 1692, when the proprietors regained control.

The final decade of the proprietary period witnessed the virtual disintegration of proprietary authority. Under the governorship of the extremely able Andrew Hamilton, the developing antagonisms between proprietors and townsmen were kept in hand, but when Hamilton was replaced by Jeremiah Basse in 1696, the popular forces erupted. At the core of the matter was the dispute over land titles. In 1695 the proprietors had secured from a friendly court an opinion denying the validity of the Nicolls grants. They then proceeded to harrass the hapless townsmen with ejectment suits. Then, quite unexpectedly, the tables were turned, and the anti-proprietary faction obtained a decision from the King in Council in 1697 upholding their claims. Seizing

upon this pretext, they took the offensive against the proprietors, extended their landholdings, and bade defiance to the government. Basse, for reasons that are obscure, seems to have supported the popular side. By 1700 there were mass disorders throughout the province, mobs were assaulting the courts, and respect for law was at a low ebb. Even the return of Governor Hamilton did not serve to allay the spirit of rebellion.

These disorders in East Jersey undoubtedly contributed to the decision by the Board of Trade in England late in 1701 to recommend that the province be placed under royal rule. From time to time in the past, particularly in 1680 and 1688, questions had been raised as to the legality of proprietary rule, but for some mysterious reasons, no definitive action was taken. The whole matter is a mystery because it should have been perfectly obvious from the outset that the Duke of York could not under English law rightfully transmit to a third party the governmental powers over New Jersey that had been granted to him by Charles II. Why the Duke connived in and countenanced the assumption of jurisdiction by the proprietors must remain a subject for speculation and further investigation. Nevertheless, when the Board of Trade came to its decision, the proprietors had no recourse, and on April 15, 1702, they yielded up their pretended powers to Queen Anne, and two days later New Jersey formally became a royal colony. The "surrender" involved both East and West Jersey, which were now to be combined as one colony under a royal governor. The proprietors retained, of course, their rights to the soil and were able to exact other assurances safeguarding their position in the province. But the ill-fated regime of the proprietors had been brought to an end, and a new era lay ahead.

The Balance Sheet

The proprietary regime, especially in the field of government, was in many respects marked by failure. The seeds of dissension between the mass of the early settlers and the proprietors had been sown when Nicolls made the grants that were subsequently repudiated by Berkeley and Carteret. Thereafter the problem of confused land titles became a basic source of disturbance. The fact that the governing authority was in the hands of men who

were at the same time concerned with managing vast landed interests was unfortunate, for it meant that political matters were often subordinated and neglected. The main concern of the proprietors was real estate, not government. The frequent changes in control and interruptions in authority certainly constituted a major factor of instability. Moreover, the proprietors, lacking the prestige that attached to royal government, were quite unable to keep in check the strong popular forces that found expression through the democratically-based assembly. When the tides of English policy turned toward opposition to the principle of proprietary governments, the tottering regime was doomed. From the first, its legality had been open to question, and when the question was put in decisive form, there could be no rejoinder.

The failures of the regime, however, should not be permitted to obscure the large contributions made during the period. It was then, nearly three centuries ago, that the foundations of institutions of self-government were laid. The Concessions of 1665 were even a century later regarded as the ancient source of rights and privileges. They provided for a structure of government that persists in general outline to the present day. From them the colonists derived a firm basis for their belief in a fundamental law that could not be arbitrarily thrust aside. To them they owed a representative assembly that was to be always a jealous guardian of their liberties. It was during this period, too, that institutions of town and county government began their course of development, that the boundaries of the present state were described, that the cleavage between East and West Jersey—still evident today—was ordained.

Economic patterns of enduring character were also fixed. All land titles in East Jersey today—with the exception of those in the contested areas of the Nicolls grants—derive from proprietary patents. Indeed, such unclaimed land as now remains can be obtained only through the agency of the proprietors, who still maintain their office in Perth Amboy. The dual character of the land system—the small holdings of the townsmen in contrast to the large estates of the proprietors—long exerted a determining influence on the economy of the colony and state. The economic

subservience of East Jersey to New York, readily observable today, can be traced back to proprietary times.

The early introduction into the province of people from many lands, who brought with them a variety of religious beliefs, fostered a spirit of understanding and tolerance. East Jersey was not, strictly speaking, an English colony; it was planted by people from Holland, Belgium, Ireland, Scotland, Sweden, Finland, Germany, France, and Wales, together with New Englanders and those from England. The process we know today as "Americanization" began three centuries ago in East Jersey.

It was during the proprietary period, then, that many of the institutions that were to influence the development of New Jersey for centuries had their origins. Probably no era in our history is of comparable significance, for it was then that foundations were laid and patterns were established. Despite its sometimes baffling complexities, it contains many answers for those interested in seeking out the roots of our heritage as Jerseymen and as Americans.

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Sir George Carteret, first Proprietor of New Jersey with Lord Berkeley. This portrait, in the Society's collection, was copied by Ernest Carlos from an original painting by Sir Peter Lely.

The Army at Middlebrook 1778-1779

PETER ANGELAKOS

WASHINGTON and his Continental Army spent a single winter in Pennsylvania. New Jersey, on the other hand, housed and sustained the patriot army during three long winters. While every schoolboy has heard of Valley Forge, few are familiar with the two winters at Morristown and to virtually none is the name of Middlebrook known. This, then, is a story of "New Jersey's forgotten Valley Forge," of Washington's ten thousand troops and their six-month encampment on the slopes of the Watchungs. It is a story to stir pride in our past. Viewing today the all but unmarked encampment site, however, we may well reflect upon the manner in which we of New Jersey have kept faith with that past.

Background

As early as October 29, 1778, General Washington, quartered at Fredericksburg, New York, was considering the possibility of cantoning his army at Middlebrook (near Bound Brook), New Jersey, during the approaching winter. Writing then to Major General Nathanael Greene, quartermaster general of the Continental Army, Washington indicated that of the three places under consideration—Danbury; West Point and its vicinity on both sides of the river; and Middlebrook—he preferred the last, if such a disposition of his troops could be undertaken safely.[1] Apparently the decision was made shortly afterward, for by November 20, 1778, orders were going out to the various troops

THE WRITER is now a lieutenant in the Air Force, serving in France. This article is adapted from his prize-winning Society of Colonial Wars essay, completed in 1951 shortly before his graduation from Rutgers University. As he formerly lived at Bound Brook, his interest in the present subject is a natural one.

[1] *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick (39 vols., Washington, D.C., 1931-44), XIII, 179-80.

to be cantoned there, with instructions to leave their quarters near West Point and proceed to Middlebrook.[2]

In his letter of October 29, Washington, apparently wishing to prepare the site for possible encampment, ordered General Greene to move certain supplies of forage to "the foot of the Mountain or at least so far from the Water, that it may be easily brought during the Winter to the Camp." A large portion of the salt and fresh forage was located at the time "upon the Sound" (evidently the Long Island Sound). In addition, Washington cited the necessity of "reconnoitering proper positions for hutting . . . and of collecting Boards, Stone and such materials as are requisite to make Barracks comfortable."[3]

Following these preliminary arrangements, various brigade and division commanders were ordered to commence the movement to Middlebrook. Baron De Kalb was instructed on November 20, 1778, to march the Maryland brigades and prisoners of war from New York State toward the site of the new encampment.[4] On the same day orders were forwarded to Brigadier General Muhlenberg to conduct his two Virginia brigades from their quarters near Robinson's house, opposite West Point, to the new cantonment at Middlebrook, at which place he would be "shewn the Ground allotted for his Troops to hut on."[5] Five days later, substantially similar orders went to Brigadier General Anthony Wayne, commanding a brigade of Pennsylvania troops,[6] and to Colonel Daniel Morgan, then temporarily in command of Woodford's Virginia Brigade.[7] In a letter to Major General St. Clair, written on the same day, Washington clearly stated his intention to establish winter quarters at or near Middlebrook with the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia troops.[8] By late November, 1778, the major units and their commands were in motion toward Middlebrook.

Other Troops in the North

An isolated study of any major encampment would present an artificial and incomplete picture of a military scheme which in reality is strategic in nature. Therefore it is pertinent to give

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 326.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 328.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

some account of the disposition of other Continental Army units in the North which were in relatively close proximity to Middlebrook.

The nearest encampment independent of Middlebrook was at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Here was the New Jersey brigade, consisting of three regiments under the command of Colonels Shreve, Ogden, and Dayton. The total complement of men varied. In April, 1779, for example, the troops numbered 1,159,[9] while on May 22 there were 1,011.[10] It was the purpose of this brigade "to cover the lower part of Jersey."[11] Elizabethtown also was used throughout the winter and spring as a base of operations for American spies in British-held New York and as a base for the exchange of prisoners.[12] On December 21, 1778, Brigadier General William Maxwell was appointed to the command at Elizabethtown, empowered to quarter troops at Newark should such an arrangement be necessary.[13] At some time between that date and March 21, 1779, quarters must indeed have been established at Newark, for there is reference to a unit there late in March,[14] probably Colonel Shreve's regiment.[15]

On the morning of February 25, 1779, a detachment of the enemy from Staten Island attempted to surprise the post at Elizabethtown. When this information reached Middlebrook, the Pennsylvania and Maryland divisions under the respective commands of Generals St. Clair and Smallwood, were sent to reinforce General Maxwell. Upon the enemy's sudden withdrawal these divisions were recalled before they had gone very far from Middlebrook.[16] Here nevertheless is shown the interdependence of military units and the impossibility of considering a major encampment as an isolated problem.

The North Carolina brigade was stationed "near Smith's Clove

[9]Nathanael Greene Papers (American Philosophical Society), XII, 58.

[10]Letter from the Board of War to Governor Livingston and the Speaker of the Assembly, in *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey, from 1776 to 1786* (Newark, 1848), pp. 168-69.

[11]Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 351.

[12]*Ibid.*, XIV, 276.

[13]*Ibid.*, XIII, 443.

[14]*Ibid.*, XIV, 276.

[15]The regiment is recorded by a return of two months later as numbering 356 men. *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive*, pp. 168-69.

[16]Washington, *Writings*, XIV, 153.

for the security of that pass, and as a reinforcement to West Point, in case of necessity."[17] Colonel Thomas Clark was in command of the brigade.[18] On December 4, Washington wrote to General Nathanael Greene that he considered "the line of communication to the Eastward much endangered by leaving Paramus exposed."[19] Whereupon, the same day, he ordered Colonel Clark's brigade to Paramus, where it then took up quarters.[20] As of April, 1779, this North Carolina brigade at Paramus numbered 1,023 men.[21] According to Colonel Clark's instructions of December 21, the new position was "intended to effect three purposes: to cover the communication to Kings Ferry, to afford countenance and protection to the well-affected inhabitants of Bergen County, and to be within supporting distance of the Posts in the Highlands."[22]

This last purpose, the support of posts located at the Highlands, is a reference to the Massachusetts troops at Fishkill, Peekskill, and West Point[23] under the command of Major General Alexander McDougall.[24] These forces were responsible for guarding the North River in order to watch the enemy's motions, "prevent small parties from penetrating too great a distance into the Country, and . . . gain any intelligence which may be collected."[25]

In addition to the support available to General McDougall from the North Carolina troops quartered at Paramus, aid from Danbury also was available to the Highlands. On November 27, Washington placed Major General Putnam in command of the Poor, Parsons, and Huntington brigades, to be quartered at Danbury for the winter.[26] These brigades, composed of New Hampshire and Connecticut troops, were also responsible for "the protection of the Country lying along, the Sound," and for covering the magazines located near the Connecticut River.[27]

[17] *Ibid.*, XIII, 351.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 346.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[21] "Strength of the Several Departments," April, 1779, in Nathanael Greene Papers, XII, 58.
[22] Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 445.
[23] *Ibid.*, XIV, 22.
[24] *Ibid.*, XIII, 351.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 340.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

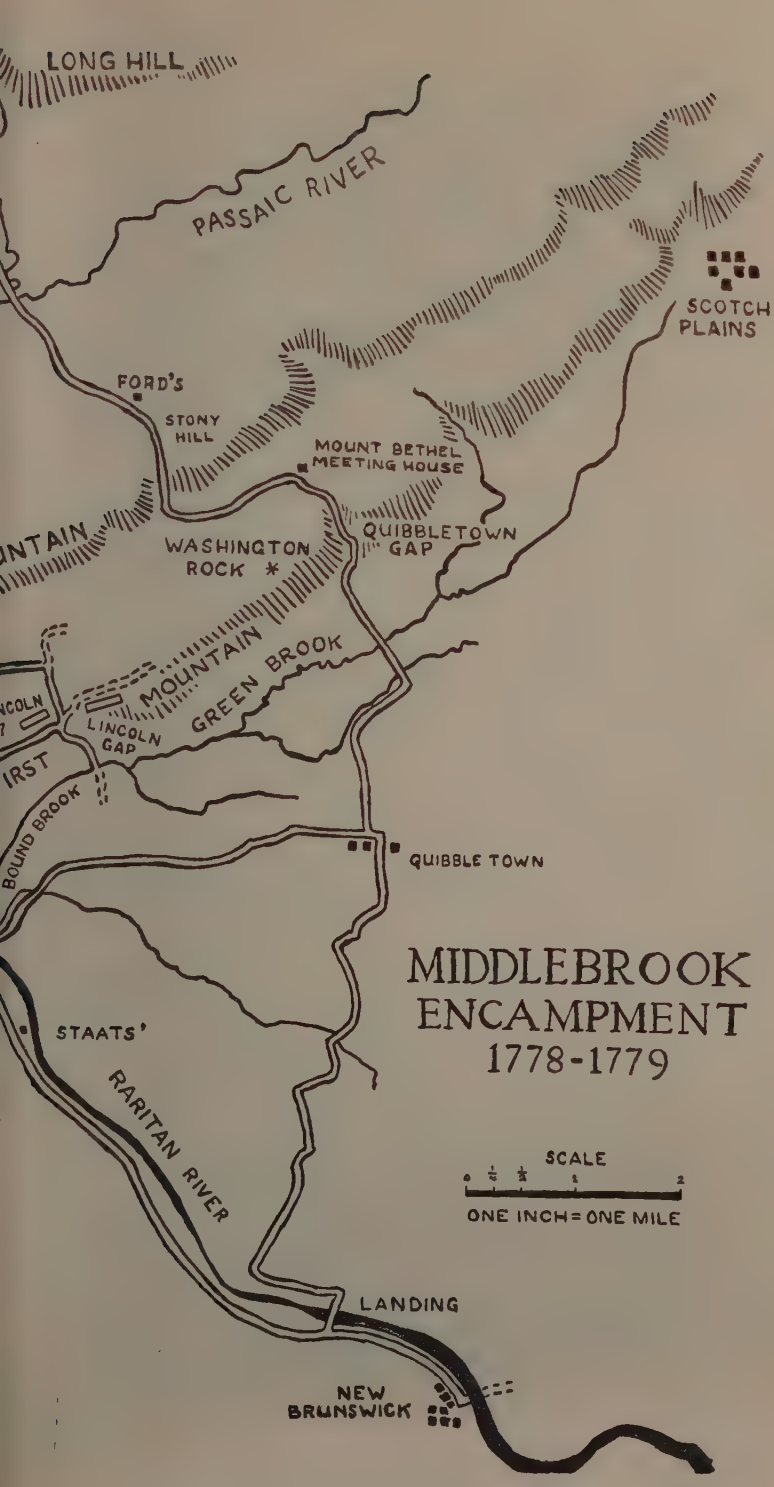
Although these cantonments, even with the troops at Middlebrook, by no means account for the disposition of the entire American army in the North, they well reflect Washington's winter plans for that part of the country. Besides being able to watch every move the British made from New York, they were situated so as to maintain good communication with American units farther to the east. And this arrangement served another purpose, perhaps of supreme importance. As Washington explained to Gouverneur Morris, "I have made a disposition of our Army for the Winter more adapted to our circumstances in point of supplies, than if the Troops had remained in a collected State."[28] This last reason for the scheme of cantonment certainly applies more to the Middlebrook encampment than to the other smaller camps, as the latter largely depended upon Middlebrook for their supplies.

The Encampment at Middlebrook

Representing the core of the encampment were seven brigades composed of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware troops.[29] The Virginia division, as of December 15, evidently was still under General Putnam, himself at Danbury.[30] In the general orders of December 16, command of the three Virginia brigades —the First, Second, and Third[31]—was given to Major General Lord Stirling.[32] These three brigades, consisting of eleven regiments, were commanded respectively by Brigadier Generals Woodford, Muhlenberg, and Scott. Woodford's brigade had come to Middlebrook under the command of Colonel Daniel Morgan, as General Woodford was on leave at the time. General Scott was on recruiting service in Virginia, and his brigade was under the temporary command of Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Hawes, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment.[33] Although Scott was to have returned to Middlebrook with the Virginia levies, Wash-

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 344.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 351.
[30] James Thacher, *A Military Journal During the American Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1823), p. 187.
[31] Nathanael Greene Papers, XI, 59.
[32] Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 407.
[33] *Ibid.*, XIII, XIV, XV, *passim*.

TO BASKING RI
DE
ARTILLERY PARK
PLUCKEMIN
CLOTHIER'S
LAMINGTON RIVER
TEN EYCK
NORTH BRANCH
SOMERVILLE
RARITAN
P.O.
TENNISON'S TAV.
ARTIFICERS' CAMP
STEEL GAP
STEEL'S TAVERN
WALLACE
ADJ. GENERAL
VAN VECHTEN
VAN MIDDLEWORT ISLAND
VAN VECHTE BRIDGE
RARITAN RIVER
PENNSYLVANIA CAMP
MILLSTONE R.
ST. CLAIR'S QUARTERS
TO PRINCETON
SOMERSET


LONG HILL
PASSAIC RIVER
SCOTCH PLAINS
FORD'S
STONY HILL
MOUNT BETHEL MEETING HOUSE
QUIBBLETOWN GAP
WASHINGTON ROCK *
MOUNTAIN
GREEN BROOK
LINCOLN GAP
BOUND BROOK
QUIBBLE TOWN
MIDDLEBROOK ENCAMPMENT 1778-1779
STAATS'
RARITAN RIVER
SCALE
ONE INCH = ONE MILE
LANDING
NEW BRUNSWICK

ington on May 5, 1779, ordered him to Georgia instead, because of the pressing military situation in that quarter.[34]

The Maryland division, which also included a regiment of Delaware troops, was under the command of Baron De Kalb. The two brigades composing this division, the Second and Fourth,[35] in turn composed of eight regiments, were under Brigadier General Smallwood and Colonel Hall. The latter was a temporary command, Brigadier General Mordecai Gist having been absent on leave at the time his brigade arrived at Middlebrook.[36]

Finally, the Pennsylvania division, commanded by Major General Arthur St. Clair, was composed of two brigades—the First and Second[37]—which in turn consisted of nine regiments. These two Pennsylvania brigades were under the command of Brigadier Generals Wayne and Irvine.[38]

In addition to this core of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania troops, there were two other units essential to the encampment. Although the artillery park, under the command of Brigadier General Henry Knox, was located at Pluckemin and not at Middlebrook, the fact that nearly all the artillery was kept there made it in reality an integral part of the encampment.[39]

[34]*Ibid.*, XIV, 498-99. John McAuley Palmer, *General Von Steuben* (New Haven, 1937), states that an inspection report on the Virginia Line issued by Von Steuben shortly after April 27 disclosed that less than one-third of the enlisted strength of 6,786 were present in the camp. Palmer derived his information from the "Old Records Division of the War Department."

[35]Nathanael Greene Papers, XI, 59.

[36]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, XV, *passim*. In the "Return of Camp Equipage Tools present in the Second Maryl. Brigade" of February 5, 1779, in the Nathanael Greene Papers, X, 99, it was indicated that there were 710 knapsacks in this brigade. This may be an indication of the number of troops in the brigade, and if this is doubled, it may be an approximate indication of the number of troops in the Maryland division. However, it must be admitted that this is not a very reliable estimate.

[37]Nathanael Greene Papers, XI, 59.

[38]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, XIV, XV, *passim*. In the papers of Brigadier General William Irvine, Vol. II, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there is an order to the commissary of clothing, issued from headquarters at Fredericksburg on November 13, 1779, to the effect that 2,627 coats and shoes were to be issued to the Pennsylvania troops. At the time of this order, the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment was not in camp. This 8th Regiment, however, was at Middlebrook until May, when it, with the 9th Virginia Regiment, departed for the Western campaign, under the command of General McIntosh. Thus, if this figure of 2,627 coats and shoes is to be relied upon, there were close to 3,000 Pennsylvania troops at the Middlebrook encampment.

[39]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, *passim*.

As of April, 1779, there were 757 troops at Pluckemin.[40] The other notable unit was Major Henry Lee's corps of cavalry, his Continental Army Light Dragoons, the only such body in this quarter.[41]

When these several units reached the Middlebrook area, they were faced with an immediate and pressing problem—cantoning themselves for the winter. The fact that in April, 1779, the army at Middlebrook totaled 9,804 men is an indication of the tremendous quartering problem faced by the officers and men when they first arrived.[42]

Although it is difficult to say when the first troops reached Middlebrook, Washington on November 27 wrote that "The whole Army is now in motion to the place of winter quarters. If no unexpected interruption happens, the whole will be over the 30th instant."[43] En route to Middlebrook, Washington arrived at Elizabethtown on December 2.[44] He planned to leave there for the encampment three days later and expected to find two of the Virginia brigades already on the scene. The third Virginia brigade and the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops were engaged in escorting Convention prisoners from the North River to Delaware.[45] Because of unexpected British movements on the North River, Washington was forced to change his schedule and proceed to the north for a few days. In addition, the troops moving southward were halted in order to be available for possible emergencies farther north. When it became clear in a few days that the British were not contemplating any significant maneuver, the troops transferred to Pennsylvania levies the prisoners they were escorting and then proceeded to the encampment at Middlebrook, arriving there about the end of the first

[40]"Strength of the Several Departments," April, 1779, in Nathanael Greene Papers, XII, 58. T. E. Davis, "Washington's Camp on the Middlebrook," *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, I (1912), 9, states that at Pluckemin "Gen. Knox had an artillery corps of forty-nine companies, with sixteen hundred and seven men and sixty cannon. Washington had only eight or ten cannon at Middlebrook." I have not been able to verify Davis' figures concerning the number and distribution of the cannon.

[41]Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 351.

[42]Nathanael Greene Papers, XII, 58. T. E. Davis, *The Battle of Bound Brook* (Bound Brook, 1895), p. 15, states that the entire force of the Americans was 8,000 to 10,000.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. 15.

[44]Lord Stirling Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[45]Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 362.

week in December.[46] Washington himself finally reached the encampment on December 11, 1778.[47]

Writing to President Joseph Reed, Washington noted that the delay occasioned by British movements had cost the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania troops some four days of "hutting" time. That the troops were exceedingly busy during the following weeks is apparent from an entry of February, 1779, in James Thacher's journal: "Our soldiers have been employed six or eight weeks in constructing log huts, which at length are completed and both officers and soldiers are now under comfortable covering for the remainder of the winter."[48] The huts must have been completed by the beginning of February, as the general orders of February 2 instructed all the non-commissioned officers and soldiers quartered in private homes to join their respective regiments in camp immediately and not to lodge outside of it in the future.[49] As late as April 1, however, regimental commanders and other officers still were quartered in houses about the country, in Bound Brook, and in Middlebrook.[50]

The following is a description of the arrangement of the huts, and, we may say, of the immediate camp in general:[51]

> . . . the huts are arranged in strait lines forming a regular, uniform, compact village. The officers huts are situated in front of the line, according to their rank, the kitchens in the rear, and the whole is similar in form to a tent encampment. The ground for a considerable distance in front of the soldiers line of huts is cleared of wood, stumps and rubbish, and is every morning swept clean for the purpose of a parade ground and roll call for the respective regiments.

[46] *Ibid.*, XIII, *passim*.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83. In a journal entry on Dec. 10, Stirling writes: "G.W. went to Middlebrook." Another entry made Dec. 12 states that he himself went to Middlebrook. Lord Stirling Papers.

[48] Thacher, *op. cit.*, p. 189. Thacher himself was the surgeon of the 1st Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel George Gibson.

[49] Washington, *Writings*, XIV, 67.

[50] Orderly Book of General William Smallwood, September 7, 1770 to April 28, 1779. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[51] Thacher, *op. cit.*, p. 189. T. E. Davis, *The Battle of Bound Brook*, p. 15, states that the flag pole then (1894) standing on the Washington Camp Ground was "supposed to mark the site of the officers' huts, and was in the center of this second encampment." Although this flag has been replaced, the same location was used. However, I am not at all certain that Davis' statement can be accepted outright. In addition, what is meant by "the center of this second encampment"?

At least part of the cantonment was located on sloping terrain. In the general orders of December 24, 1778, it was recommended to the commanding officers of brigades that ditches be made beside every row of huts which were on descending ground, so that the water could run off more conveniently.[52] Another reference to the terrain is found in the answers which Washington supplied to questions asked by one of Maxwell's spies in New York, whom the British thought to be one of their own agents. Although not much detailed information is included, one of the statements indicates in a general way the location of certain main components of the encampment: "Mr. Washington's army is in three parts, two of them General Starling and General Kables are upon the mountain over Boundbrook and General Sinxclairs men on this side of Vanwiktors bridge on high ground."[53]

Once the huts had been completed, the army was in a fairly comfortable condition. The extreme sufferings which had characterized the preceding winter at Valley Forge were not to be repeated at Middlebrook. As Washington reported to the Marquis de Lafayette in March, "The American Troops are again in Hutts, but in a more agreeable and fertile country, than they were last Winter at Valley forge; and are better clad and more healthy than they have ever been since the formation of the Army."[54]

The locations of the several components of the camp can be pieced together from several sources. According to a British spy map, the main part of the troops were hutted just west of the Middlebrook, between the Raritan River and the first or southernmost range of the Watchung Mountains.[55] Although it correctly indicates the general position of the American troops, the map probably is not accurate in placing the main cantonment *west* of the Middlebrook. From Robert Erskine's maps, showing a road between Middlebrook and Bound Brook which ran north-

[52]Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 453.

[53]*Ibid.*, XV, 4. The poor spelling and grammar were employed to make the answers more realistic.

[54]*Ibid.*, XIV, 221.

[55]British Spy Map, in Clinton Map Collection, showing the location of American units during the encampment at Middlebrook 1778-1779. (Photostat in Rutgers University Library.)

ward from the Old York Road to the Middlebrook Valley and to the Maryland camp, it appears that the main encampment, not only of the Maryland and Delaware but also of the Virginia troops, was actually *east* of the Middlebrook.[56] Indication that the Virginia troops were also in this general vicinity, closer to Chimney Rock than the Maryland troops (which would thus be placed to the south of the Virginia troops), lies in two pieces of evidence. In the first place, orders were issued on March 23 to the Virginia troops "to erect Signals at Steels Gap."[57] The location of Steel's Gap seems to be explained by the presence on the Erskine maps of a Steel's Tavern, near the gap in the First Watchung Mountain through which the Middlebrook flows.[58] Like those from other units, the Virginia troops presumably were dispatched to erect signals at nearby locations. They would thus be the division located closest to Chimney Rock. The second bit of evidence locating the Virginia troops is found in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 31, 1779:[59]

> On Monday, the first day of November next at the house commonly called Stell's Tavern, near the Virginia encampment, at or near Middlebrook, a tract of about one thousand acres, on the west branch of Middlebrook, in the vale between the first and second mountain, leased on six forms, the leases expired, very good interval lands, and most excellent timber land contiguous to the Farms on Rariton River.

On the basis of this evidence it would appear that the Virginia troops were located in relatively close proximity to Chimney Rock.

It is not known where Baron De Kalb, commander of the Maryland division, had his quarters. A general order on April 13 ordering a general court martial for the next morning "at Colo. Gists late Quarters at Bound Brook" may indicate that, for some

[56]Erskine maps of central New Jersey during the Revolutionary War period, New-York Historical Society (photostatic copies in Rutgers University Library), Map No. 70E. During the encampment, Washington wrote to Erskine on two different occasions, February 10 and March 3, urging him to leave his residence and move to quarters in the vicinity of the army, as his cartographic work was known to the enemy and he was in constant danger. In the second letter, Washington refers to the great accuracy of the maps and to the fact that two of them had been delivered to him, indicating that he himself used these maps. Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 93, 182-83.

[57]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 283.

[58]Erskine Map, No. 98A.

[59]*New Jersey Archives,* Second Series, III, 535.

time at least, Mordecai Gist had his quarters in Bound Brook, as the title "Colo." was often used arbitrarily.[60] Lord Stirling, who received command of the three Virginia brigades on December 16[61] and also commanded the troops at Middlebrook during Washington's absence from December 22 to February 5,[62] had his quarters at the house of Philip Van Horne. This is located on "Philip's Hill," on the north side of the Old York Road, just west of the Middlebrook.[63] In the general orders of January 28, 1779, it was specified that "the discharge of three pieces of cannon at Major General Lord Sterlings Quarters will be the Signal of alarm in which case the Troops are to be put in the possition lately ordered."[64] From a letter of May 18, 1779, written at Bound Brook, it is learned that Woodford had his quarters at the house of Mr. Pernise, while his horses, those of his brigade majors, and those of his personal baggage wagon were kept in Mr. Pernise's pasture. Dunn, who was in charge of the dispatchers, had previously occupied these quarters.[65]

The other division, composed of Pennsylvania troops, was cantoned south of the Raritan River. This encampment was on the western side of the road which ran from Van Veghten's Bridge (now Finderne) to the Somerset Courthouse (now Millstone), approximately where Weston now is.[66] Major General Arthur St. Clair, commanding the Pennsylvania division, had his quarters farther south on the same road, about where Kupper Airport presently is situated.[67]

The artillery park, located near Pluckemin, would not seem to be part of the Middlebrook encampment, but the fact that all the artillery attached to the brigades was kept at the park made it an integral part of the encampment.[68] According to the

[60]Smallwood Orderly Book.
[61]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, 407.
[62]*Ibid.,* XIII, 443; footnote, p. 452.
[63]Erskine Maps, Nos. 70E, 98B.
[64]Smallwood Orderly Book.
[65]Nathanael Greene Papers, V, 23.
[66]Erskine Map, No. 74F. In the Wayne Manuscripts, VI, 39, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there is a letter sent by Greene to General Wayne on December 19, stating the following: "I wish you could engage Mr. Vanest to keep your Horses and receive pay for it. His forage shall be exempt [from seizure] in consequence of it." Whether Wayne succeeded or tried to engage Mr. Vanest has not been discovered.
[67]Erskine Map, No. 74F.
[68]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, 418.

British spy map mentioned previously, the artillery park lay on the western side of the road from the Old York Road to Pluckemin,[69] near where State Highway 31 now crosses Chamber's Brook.[70] In the general orders of April 27, 1779, there is an indication that the commissary of military stores was also located near Pluckemin.[71]

The entire ordnance department, including both the artillery park and commissary of military stores, was under the command of Brigadier General Henry Knox.[72] Knox and his wife were quartered at the Jacobus Van der Veer house, just below the Bedminster church.

Major Henry Lee's corps of cavalry, the only such body remaining in the state, was quartered outside of the encampment proper, "in the lower part of the Country," in order that a better supply of forage might be available.[73] In addition to the organized corps of cavalry, the general orders of December 22 directed the quartermaster general to remove from camp all non-essential horses and turn them over to the commissary of forage, which would have them well provided for "at a convenient place at some distance from camp."[74] Upwards of two thousand horses were sent from the army into Pennsylvania.[75] By April 12 there were only 414 horses left in camp, 116 of these assigned to the commissary general of forage. The drastic reduction in the number of horses in the camp is illustrated by the fact that of 114 horses in the two Pennsylvania Brigades as of February 4,[76] there were only twenty-five left by April 12.[77]

Major General Nathanael Greene, the quartermaster general, had his headquarters at the house of Derrick Van Veghten,

[69]By symbolic crosses, the map even seems to attempt to indicate that the artillery pieces are facing east.

[70]In Andrew D. Mellick, *Lesser Crossroads* (New Brunswick, 1948), p. 272, the statement is made that the guns were parked and the men's quarters were erected on the northwest side of the Cornelius Eoff farm. However, I was unable to find any information to verify this in the original sources examined.

[71]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 446.

[72]*Ibid.,* XIII, 401-02.

[73]*Ibid.,* XIV, 63. According to Davis (*Battle of Bound Brook,* p. 16), Lee was quartered at the Van Horne house.

[74]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, 451.

[75]This letter is in *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive,* pp. 138-39.

[76]Nathanael Greene Papers, X, 95; XII, 31.

[77]*Ibid.,* XII, 31.

between present-day Finderne and Somerville, south of the Old York Road and near the Raritan River.[78] According to the British spy map, troops were encamped near the Van Veghten house. This seems to be supported by a general order of December 23, 1778, which refers to the "Troops . . . assigned on the Common opposite to the road leading to General Greene's Quarters."[79] In addition, the quartermaster general's store was probably located in the same area, for the general orders of December 31 specified that tools used for hutting were to be returned there as soon as the work was completed.[80]

Washington's headquarters was perhaps the hub of the entire encampment. In a letter of December 4, Washington instructed General Greene to arrange terms with Mr. Wallace for the use of his house as headquarters.[81] This house was then located on the south side of the Old York Road, just to the west of Somerville.[82] Washington arrived at the encampment on December 11[83] and used the Wallace house as his headquarters from that date to June 3, 1779, except for the period between December 22, 1778, and February 5, 1779, when he was in Philadelphia.[84] According to a letter of General Greene, Washington paid Wallace ten thousand dollars for the use of the house, the only instance in which compensation had been paid for such a purpose.[85]

The inspector general of the army, Baron von Steuben, had his headquarters at the Staats house in South Bound Brook, across the Raritan River from Bound Brook, a mile south of the bend on the Raritan, near the road to New Brunswick.

The artificers' camp, under the command of Colonel Jeduthan

[78]Erskine Map, No. 74F.

[79]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, 452.

[80]*Ibid.,* p. 472.

[81]*Ibid.,* p. 362.

[82]Erskine Map, No. 98B.

[83]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, 382.

[84]*Ibid.,* footnote, p. 68; XV, 218. In Mellick, *op. cit.,* pp. 269-70, there is the statement that Washington's Life Guard, under the command of William Colfax, contained 180 men while it was at Middlebrook and was encamped adjacent to the quarters of the commander-in-chief.

[85]Nathanael Greene Papers, VI, 88. Greene also writes that Washington "paid this himself, that is, it was not settled in the quarter master line." In this same letter, Greene mentions that "Mr. Vanvactor and Mrs. Tenn Eyck have been infinitely the greatest sufferers."

Baldwin,[86] was about a mile west of Van Horne's house, on the north side of the Old York Road.[87] A monthly return of February 2 shows that there were then 186 artificers in this regiment, although twenty-two were sick or on furlough.[88] Washington's answer to one question of Maxwell's spy[89] and the monthly returns of the wagons in camp indicate that, after the hutting period, most of the wagons were kept at the artificers' camp. For example, by April 12, of the 328 wagons in camp, 235 were at the artificers'.[90] On December 26, orders were received to impress local shops and coal for the use of the smiths.[91] On first arriving in camp on December 14, Baldwin lodged at Mr. Ten Eyck's, moving to Mr. Michael Hegeman's house on December 16.[92]

The quarters of Alexander Scammel, the adjutant general, were located on the south side of the road from the Wallace house to Willam Crooks' residence, near Van Middlesworth's Island. This island is no longer in existence.[93]

In the general orders of January 1, 1779, it was stated that the brigade commissaries of hides were to deliver their hides and and fallow to the commissary of hides, apparently under the command of John Mehelm, located at Bound Brook.[94] The slaughter house was also located here.[95]

There were likewise certain medical units in Bound Brook. The director general of surgeons had his quarters at Doctor Draper's residence,[96] while the director general of the flying hospital, whose approval appears to have been required if the sick were to be sent to the general hospital, was quartered at the residence of Mr. Field.[97]

[86]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 212; Nathanael Greene Papers, XII, 30.
[87]Erskine Map, No. 98B.
[88]Nathanael Greene Papers, X, 100.
[89]Washington, *Writings,* XV, 4.
[90]Nathanael Greene Papers, X, 95; XII, 31.
[91]Jeduthan Baldwin, *Revolutionary Journal . . . 1775-1778,* ed. by T. W. Baldwin (Maine, 1906).
[92]*Ibid.*
[93]Erskine Map, No. 71C.
[94]Washington, *Writings,* XIII, 472.
[95]Smallwood Orderly Book, division orders of March 6, 1779; Nathanael Greene Papers, IV, 101.
[96]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 347.
[97]*Ibid.,* XIII, 442. T. E. Davis, *First Houses of Bound Brook* (Bound Brook, 1893), gives no indication as to the possible locations of these dwellings.

A number of other units were, or may have been, located in Bound Brook and vicinity. A letter to Greene on February 11 mentions Mr. Weise as in command of a guard posted to protect two houses of stores near the road leading to the encampment.[98] The fact that a guard to be mounted at Du Portail's quarters was drawn from the Maryline line[99] and that in the division orders of March 4, 1779, "A Pioneer from each Brigade to cut wood for an Officer of Ingineers" was required to call at William Baker's in Middlebrook,[100] may indicate that this was the residence of Du Portail, the chief engineer.

The assistant commissary general of purchases, Royal Flint, was stationed at Raritan,[101] as was the commissary of prisoners, John Beatty.[102] In addition, the commissary of forage, Colonel Clement Biddle, was in command of the forage magazine located here.[103] Forage for this magazine came from Trenton, Monmouth, Essex, Middlesex, Easton,[104] Philadelphia, and to a lesser extent, from Morristown.[105]

The clothier's office (and apparently store) was located on the east side of the road from Ten Eyck's toward Germantown and south of the Lamington River, near the place of juncture of this river and the North Branch of the Raritan.[106]

As Erskine consistently locates a post office about 1½ miles east of the Wallace house on the north side of the Old York Road, next to Tennison's Tavern, this may have served as the post office for the troops of the encampment.[107] That the army headquarters had its own postal service is evidenced by the fact that Hugh Smith was attached there as the postmaster.[108]

Finally, Captain Bartolomew Von Heer's Marechausee Corps,

[98]Nathanael Greene Papers, IV, 19.

[99]Colonel James Chambers, Orderly Book, May 24, 1779 to August 25, 1779. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[100]Smallwood Orderly Book.

[101]Washington, *Writings*, XIII, *passim*.

[102]Smallwood Orderly Book, February 4 and 13, 1779; Nathanael Greene Papers, IV, 5.

[103]Nathanael Greene Papers, I, 78; III, 37.

[104]*Ibid.*, I, 78.

[105]*Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington with the Officers*, ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick (4 vols., Washington, D.C., 1915), II, *passim*.

[106]Erskine Map, No. 70A.

[107]Erskine Map, No. 98B.

[108]Washington, *Writings*, XIII, *passim*.

a peculiarly semi-independent corps, although attached to the Pennsylvania troops, was stationed in the vicinity of Millstone.[109]

Besides these various components of the encampment, evidently there were others, although they cannot be located readily now. These were: the auditor of accounts, the orderly office, the commissary of musters, the auditors of the army, the assistant paymaster general, and the parade grounds.[110]

Other Units Associated with the Encampment

The security and well-being of a relatively large encampment like Middlebrook depended on several outlying commands. Although these units were rather widely dispersed, they necessarily remained in direct and close association with the main encampment.

Numerous guard outposts were set up during the winter in the territory surrounding Middlebrook. In the general orders of December 22, an advanced picket was established to be stationed at Bonhamtown, consisting of "a Captain, two Subs, three Serjeants, a Drum and Fife and Fifty Rank and File." The picket was to be relieved every Monday.[111] The personnel appears to have been of mixed composition, not drawn from any one specific division.[112] In addition to the Bonhamtown outpost, units constantly were being sent to Monmouth County, in an effort to stop the trade between that section and New York. Although small parties had been sent to Monmouth previously, on January 8, 1779, Lord Stirling was ordered to dispatch 250 men to that quarter. Thereafter, troops were constantly maintained in Monmouth County until the middle of May.[113] The general orders of January 31 also indicate that a guard had been located at Morristown, at which time the guard was increased "to a Captain's command," to be relieved monthly.[114] From a letter of

[109] *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington*, II, *passim*.

[110] Washington, *Writings*, XIII, XIV, XV, *passim*. In Thacher's *Military Journal*, pp. 193-94, there is reference to a parade held on May 2 in honor of the French minister, Gerard, and a Spanish gentleman, Don Juan de Miralles. He states that "the whole . . . army . . . was paraded in martial array in a spacious field."

[111] Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 451.

[112] *Ibid.*, XV, 377.

[113] *Ibid.*, XIII, 496; XIV, 434-35.

[114] *Ibid.*, XIV, 58.

Washington to Brigadier General William Maxwell on February 20, it is learned that persons who had deserted the Convention troops and thus could not ethically be exchanged were to be sent from Elizabethtown to Morristown where the guard had been strengthened for the purpose of security.[115] Thus facilities appear to have existed in Morristown for the holding of prisoners.[116]

In addition to these more permanent posts, patrols went out constantly from Middlebrook and the outlying posts. They were frequently sent, for example, to Woodbridge,[117] Shrewsbury, Middletown, and Tinton Falls.[118]

Pickets also existed in and near the main encampment for policing and disciplining the camp. In the general orders of December 22 the following is found: "A Brigadier and Field Officers for the day are to be appointed. They will see the Pickets properly posted, visited and superintend the policies and discipline of the camp as usual."[119] There was a picket in Bound Brook, according to the general orders of December 23, 1778, to consist of "A Sub., Sergt and 20 Privates from the Maryland Line . . . to be relieved once every 48 hours."[120] On January 29, a guard was established at the "Bon Brook Bridge," to consist of "a Captain, 2 Subs, 2 Serjs, two Corporals and 40 Privates." Also, "a Serjeants guards to be posted at the Bridge below the left of the same, both of the Maryland Line."[121] A guard was also maintained at "Greens Bridge," which was synonymous with Van Veghten's Bridge.[122] At the quarters of the various generals were also guards, and, as need arose, men were sent to guard private property from the ravages of the troops.[123] Undoubtedly, numerous other pickets and guards existed.

[115] *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

[116] Lord Stirling Papers. Letter written by Stirling on January 29 to D.Q.M. General James Abeel, Esq., at Morristown mentions the necessity for strengthening the guard in order to handle misbehaving prisoners.

[117] Smallwood Orderly Book, general orders, March 3, 1779.

[118] *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington, passim.* In the late spring, Major Henry Lee and his corps were in the vicinity of Burlington, not only for patrol purposes, but also in order to secure adequate forage.

[119] Washington, *Writings*, XIII, 451.

[120] Smallwood Orderly Book.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] *Ibid.* Mentioned in the division orders of March 6.

[123] *Ibid.*, division orders, January 17.

Although it is not clear whether certain suggestions made by De Kalb to Washington on February 8 for the "defence of the left wing" of the army were followed, they are worthy of mention:[124]

> At or near the top of the mountain at the Place called Lincoln's gap. A Strong redoubt with some pieces (four or there about) of Cannon, to Command the wooden Bridge on Bound Brook and The Roads Leading along the Top of the mountain, behind the Camp as far as Wayne's Gap. with a Guard house therein . . . A Parapet to be constructed below the mountain . . . nearer the Bridge to defend the same with small arms . . . At the Fording places, below and above said Bridge, could be obstructed with wither Ditches, abbatis or Chevaux de frize, only on the right or on both banks of the Creek, to secure the passages . . . To repair an old batterie at Boundbrook . . . laid out for four pieces, commanding both, the Bridge on Rariton River and the Stone Bridges upon the Creek . . . To have a kind of Gate in the form of Chevaux de frize on the nearest Stone Bridge. Rariton Bridge not wanting any . . .

A letter from Charles Stewart to Greene on February 15 mentions the establishment of a magazine at Raritan Landing, "in order to supply the posts at Eliz Town Newark and Springfield and the Hospitals in and near Brunswick." The letter further states that because it was much nearer to go "from Trenton by the Landing Bridge to E Town and the other posts," the commissary store at New Brunswick was disbanded.[125] Here is an excellent example of the significant role which the Middlebrook encampment played in supplying outlying posts during this period.

Indubitably, the hospital facilities of any encampment play a major role in the well-being of the troops. Although there were apparently no regular hospitals located at the encampment proper, they did exist in at least two places relatively near. In the general orders of January 13, there is mention of hospitals at New Brunswick, under the direct command and supervision of Middlebrook personnel.[126] In addition, a letter forwarded by Washington on February 16 to Colonel Abraham Buford, at that time superintending the hospitals at New Brunswick, men-

[124]Papers of George Washington (copy), Vol. 97. Library of Congress.
[125]Nathanael Greene Papers, IV, 94.
[126]Washington, *Writings*, XIV, 2.

tioned the fact that hospital stores were also located there.[127] There were other hospitals at Millstone, with the two churches, the court house, and commandeered barns being used as such.[128] On June 3, 1779, the director of the military hospitals in that quarter was ordered to remove the sick "to the huts of the artillerists at Pluckemin."[129] Men belonging to the Virginia and Maryland lines were in hospitals in Albany, having been confined in the North from the previous campaign. However, as these men did not have adequate clothing upon recovering, they were unable to leave Albany and rejoin their respective units at Middlebrook. In the general orders of February 2, 1779, an officer from the Virginia line was dispatched to Albany to supervise the conveyance of clothing to that place and to conduct the men back to the camp.[130]

The seriousness of the prevailing scarcity of clothing is further illustrated by the fact that troops of the Maryland line were employed during the winter in a shoe factory at Newark.[131] However, because of the reduced number of troops at the encampment, this contingent at Newark had to be recalled to Middlebrook on April 15.[132]

One of the major problems faced by an encampment is that of discipline. From various references in letters and from the fact that a comparatively large number of court martials were held, one is enabled to appreciate the magnitude of this problem. One brigade court martial, held May 12, 1779, at the artillery park, resulted in a death sentence for three soldiers. The three were hanged next day at Pluckemin—which fact, incidentally, may indicate that the gallows were located there.[133] It is very possible that other gallows were present in the encampment, although this has been the only specific reference found.

Perhaps the most interesting plan of security for the encampment, and even for an extensive part of central New Jersey, was

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.
128 B. Binney to Greene, May 18, in Nathanael Greene Papers, V, 39.
129 Washington, *Writings*, XV, 200.
130 *Ibid.*, XIV, 67.
131 *Ibid.*, XIII, 475.
132 *Ibid.*, XIV, 391-92.
133 Washington, *Writings*, XV, 49.

a scheme which Washington explained to Governor Livingston in a letter of March 23, 1779: "The possibility of the Enemy's making incursions into this State has suggested the expedience of fixing signals at places calculated to communicate the most speedy alarm to the Country; and of appointing Convenient posts for the Militia to assemble at for Orders."[134] On the same date, Washington directed Lord Stirling to order the erection of signals at certain specific locations.[135] Parties from Woodford's and Scott's brigades were to put up signals at Steel's Gap and on "the Hill upon Baskenridge Road." Steel's Gap, in the First Watchung Mountain through which the the Middlebrook River flows, derived its name from an establishment called Steel's Tavern, located nearby.[136] By "the Hill upon Baskenridge Road" was probably meant Stony Hill, on the Second Watchung Mountain, near the gap on the road from Mount Bethel to Ford's.[137] General Smallwood was to furnish parties from the Maryland brigades to erect signals at "Waynes Lincolns and Quibbletown Gaps." The Erskine map showing the road from Mount Bethel Meeting House to near Quibbletown, and from Quibbletown to the Brunswick Landing, suggests that Quibbletown Gap is the pass in the First Watchung Mountain through which Washington Avenue now passes from Dunellen up to Washington Rock State Park.[138] Comparison of the Erskine, Alexander,[139] and other[140] maps in respect to geographical features, roads, and locations of the 1777 cantonments of Generals Wayne and Lincoln, indicates that Wayne Gap and Mordecai Gap were one and the same. This gap in the First Watchung Mountain is the one through which Vosseler Avenue now passes. As for Lincoln Gap, this was the next gap in the First Watchung Mountain, southwest of Quibbletown Gap. A party from the Pennsylvania division was to erect a signal on

[134] *Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.
[135] *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.
[136] Erskine Map, No. 98A.
[137] *Ibid.*, No. 98B.
[138] *Ibid.*, No. 70D.
[139] Alexander maps of New Jersey during the Revolutionary War period, New-York Historical Society (photostatic copies in Rutgers University Library).
[140] "A sketch of that part of New Jersey from Amboy to Bound Brook, showing the position of Washington's army in 1777." Rutgers University Library.

"the Hill near Princeton." Probably this signal was meant to be placed on Rocky Hill.[141] On March 23, Washington also wrote to Brigadier General Knox instructing him to erect a signal "upon the Mountain to the Rear of Pluckemin."[142] Possibly this is the mountain to the northeast of Pluckemin.[143]

Certainly this consideration of the signal system would not be adequate without a description of the proposed beacons. They are described in the above-mentioned letter of Knox: "The Beacons are proposed to be built of logs in the form of a Pyramid, 16 or 18 feet square at the Base, and about 20 feet in height the inner part to be filled with Brush. Should there be occasion to fire it you shall have proper notice."[144]

Movement from the Encampment

With the approach of summer, the camp began to stir in preparation for the coming campaigns. In the middle of May, Colonel Brodhead departed with the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment and the Ninth Virginia Regiment and proceeded west to Fort Pitt to participate in a campaign against the tribes of the Six Nations.[145] Major General John Sullivan, who was at Providence, left Rhode Island at the beginning of May, went to Millstone for a few days,[146] and then proceeded to Easton to lead the campaign.[147] On May 6, the New Jersey troops, under Maxwell's command, were ordered to leave Elizabethtown,[148] proceed to Easton via Millstone, and place themselves under the command of Sullivan.[149]

The major movement from the Middlebrook encampment began on May 29, 1779, with the departure of the Pennsylvania division.[150] On June 2, the Virginia division, under Lord Stirling,

[141]Erskine Map, No. 71A.
[142]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 284.
[143]Erskine Map, No. 98B.
[144]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 284.
[145]*Ibid.,* pp. 114, 118, 193.
[146]*Calendar of the Correspondence Relating to the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1900), *passim.* In library of the American Philosophical Society.
[147]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 201, 492.
[148]Nathanael Greene Papers, VII, 58.
[149]Washington, *Writings,* XIV, 493, 494-95.
[150]*Ibid.,* XV, 176.

also left.[151] The next day, June 3, 1779, saw the departure of Baron De Kalb's Maryland division, General Knox's artillery,[152] and Major Henry Lee's cavalry corps.[153] As the headquarters of Washington also moved on June 3, 1779, this marked the official termination of the Middlebrook encampment.[154]

Summer had arrived; the troops were in motion northward to West Point;[155] and another campaign was soon to begin!

[151] *Ibid.*, p. 201; Thacher, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[152] Washington, *Writings*, XV, footnote, p. 214.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 220.
[154] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[155] Thacher, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

New Tensions in Old Newark

Germanic Influence and the Sabbath Observance Controversy, 1870-1910

S. H. POPPER

There were several expressions of social tension in Newark during the period from 1870 to 1910. The most striking of these resulted chiefly from the interplay of cultures, and they nearly always contained political and economic overtones. Such a development came about when the dominant social code of the community, which had been shaped by a Puritan world view, was challenged by European value systems and customs.

A regular cycle appears to have existed in the pattern of immigrant adjustment to life in the city of Newark. The earliest immigrants were at first subjected to the aloofness and distrust of the older residents. These immigrants eventually became part of the in-group and the cycle was repeated all over again with the arrival of fresh immigrants. The Irish and the Germans met with such social rejection when they first settled in the city. Later it was also experienced by the Italian and East European stocks. A similar social aloofness also prevailed in the relationship between the older foreign-born residents and those who came between 1890 and 1910.[1]

Social tensions at times erupted in violence. The earliest known clash between foreign-born and native groups occurred in 1834 when Newark's first St. Patrick's Day parade was attacked. Then when the Germans settled in the city during the 1840's their picnics and social events were similarly disturbed by irresponsible

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[1]Frank Urquhart, *A History of the City of Newark* (New York, 1913), II, 826; Sarah Kussy, *The Story of Gustav and Bella Kussy of Newark, N.J.: a Family Chronicle* (mimeographed), p. 14.

gangs, without interference from the police. One writer claims that the Know Nothing movement in Newark was directed as much against the Germans as it was against Catholics.[2]

By 1870, however, both these immigrant groups had become fairly well integrated with the life of the community. Germans were entrenched in the city's economy either as skilled wage earners in factories or as factory owners. They had a forceful champion in the *New Jersey Freie Zeitung,* and politically they constituted a powerful force in the clubs of the Republican party.

The group status of the Irish, on the other hand, was not as strong. They were denied equal social acceptance with the Germans because certain significant group characteristics differentiated the Irish from the Germanic stocks. The Irish generally supported the Democratic party whereas the Germans as a group were Republican, sharing in this regard the political convictions of the most influential elements in the community. Moreover the Irish were mostly Catholic while the Germans, like the native stock, were mostly Protestant. Finally, the Germans possessed greater economic independence than the Irish. Nevertheless, the Irish, too, had become sufficiently strong by 1870 to force native politicians to grant them better treatment in matters of municipal patronage.[3]

The Italians, as a minority group, suffered more perhaps than any other as a result of social rejection by established residents. There was still a large residue of anti-Catholic feeling in the city when they began settling there in large numbers during the 1880's. One Newark newspaper referred to the Italians from the south of Italy as "the worst class of Italians," who, because of a lack of industrial skills, had to maintain themselves as "rag and bone pickers."[4] The economic dependency of the Italians, which evoked such sobriquets, was also responsible for the strained relationship between Italian immigrants and established wage earners. Employers frequently took advantage of the Italians and

[2]W. M. Mahoney, "The Irish Element in Newark, N.J.," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society,* XXI (1922), 137; William Von Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," in Urquhart, *op. cit.,* II, 1054.

[3]*Newark Daily Advertiser,* Jan. 10, 1870.

[4]Newark *Sentinel of Freedom,* May 31, 1881. See also Charles W. Churchill, "The Italians of Newark" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1942).

used them as a source of cheap labor to depress wages and to weaken the nascent labor movement.[5]

Italian group existence became more secure with the passing of time. Manifestations of tension between the Italian group and the general community, however, did not disappear entirely. A widely divergent social perspective between first and second generation Italians led to the weakening of parental control; and, as a result, complaints of "infractions of the law by Italians" grew more frequent. This problem had become sufficiently acute by 1906 to arouse the community to demand relief from the municipal government.[6]

However, the most dramatic manifestations of social tension in Newark during the period from 1870 to 1910 appeared in the recurring clash between the foreign-born and native Newarkers over the question of Sabbath observance. The German's love for music, dancing, and beer met with native antipathy. As a result, mutual aloofness and suspicion turned into hostility when Germanic concepts of Sabbath observance clashed head-on with native concepts. The contest grew sharper as the city grew. An expanding economy clearly called for compromise on both sides, a development which professional sabbatarians and other influential groups in the community resisted with adamantine stubbornness. The issue was not completely resolved by 1910. It returned time and again to disturb the tranquility of the city. But whenever the issue reappeared it was patent from the relative strength of the contestants that simultaneously with developing urbanism a cultural synthesis was emerging in Newark.

The dichotomous arrangement of the native attitude towards the Germans was from the beginning extremely vexing to those former Europeans. On the one hand they were welcomed to the city because they constituted a good source of intelligent labor power. But on the other hand they were abused because of native intolerance toward the German custom of indulging in such Sunday recreational pleasures as singing, sports, and the patronizing of beer gardens. To descendants of the Puritan founders German recreation on the Sabbath day constituted

[5]Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[6]*Newark Sunday Call*, May 27, 1906; Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

desecration, which they expected the municipal government to prevent. Thus, when a committee of Germans petitioned the Common Council to relax the Sunday laws in 1853, the petition was summarily denied and instructions were issued to the police to enforce the letter of the Sunday laws.[7]

From the German point of view this was sheer hypocrisy. They might have pointed to Newark industrialists who were compelled by force of circumstances to operate their plants on Sundays.[8] Then, moreover, it was obvious that such services as transportation and food distribution could not be suspended in a large urban community even on a Sunday. To the logical German mind a Puritan Sunday was inconceivable for Newark of the 1870's; and since petitions had failed to bring relief, the Germans decided upon independent political action to achieve their purpose.

The charter election of 1871 marks the beginning of a protracted political struggle by which the respective protagonists in the Sabbath observance controversy attempted to gain dominance over each other through an exercise of political power. Temperance, Sunday recreation, and beer gardens were the principle issues in this campaign.[9] The Sunday observance issue stood out even more sharply in the election of 1873. Nehemiah Perry, the Democratic candidate and a leading Newark manufacturer, received the support of many Republicans and "was elected in the belief that he, better than any other man, could enforce the Sunday laws and put a stop to much of the illicit sale of liquors."[10]

Perry's policy of strict enforcement led to an "irrepressible conflict . . . between the saloon keepers and the city authorities."[11] Saloonkeepers did not mind paying the ten-dollar fine, because they made four or five times that amount by keeping their saloons open on Sunday. They resorted to cleverly conceived evasions, which only infuriated the opposition. One enterprising German beer garden owner advertised in large posters a sacred

[7]Urquhart, *op. cit.*, I, 555.
[8]*U.S. Census*, 1880, *Statistics of Wages*, p. 23.
[9]*Sentinel of Freedom*, Aug. 19, 1873; *Annual Message of the Mayor*, 1873, p. 13.
[10]*Sentinel of Freedom*, Oct. 5, 1875.
[11]*Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1874; Jan. 26, 1875.

concert to be held in his beer garden on Sunday. It was reported that he succeeded in increasing his bar receipts considerably as a result of the concert.[12]

The Sunday closing issue reached the boiling point in the late 1870's. Leading members of the community then became the spokesmen either for the conservative group or for the so-called liberal group. The social tensions engendered by the controversy did not subside in fury until after the municipal elections of 1879, and then only temporarily.

Both groups were determined by then to mobilize every ounce of political strength to make a final settlement of the Sunday question. In July, 1877, the Newark Law and Order League was organized under the aegis of prominent citizens and clergymen. Although from the conservative point of view the issue then was the halting of all commercial activity on Sunday, the attack was principally directed at German-owned breweries. Keynoting the conservative attack, one leading Newark clergyman asserted: "Nothing can be accomplished until a city government is secured that will carry out the views of the League . . . We do not propose to hurt this party or that, but we say to both political parties you cannot get along without us."[13]

In retaliation the powerful German-controlled Saloon Keepers Association established a permanent Citizens' Protective Association to counteract the work of the Law and Order League and to work for "the total separation of Church and State."[14]

Both camps thus girded for political action. The German-speaking community mobilized feverishly during the summer of 1879 to hurl its forces against the candidate of the Law and Order League. "The German elements," reported the *Sentinel of Freedom,* "intend, if they hold the balance of power, to use it in the fall."[15]

The charter election of 1879 was unique in Newark's history. There appears to have been no other issue in the campaign but the question of Sunday observance. But even more significant, citizens of foreign birth, or those of foreign ancestry, felt they

[12] *Ibid.*, May 19, 1874; Jan. 26, 1875.
[13] *Ibid.*, July 17, 1877.
[14] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1878; May 14, 1878; May 28, 1878.
[15] *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1879.

were now ready to mobilize sufficient political strength to challenge the hegemony of the native value system. Signs in certain Newark store windows and shops proclaimed "We pray too! But for Liberty! No hypocrites! Just and Liberal towards all."[16] Conservatism and advancing urbanism met head-on in the political contest of 1879. Caught between the cross-fire of the contesting parties, the municipal excise commissioners decided not to grant any more liquor licenses until the controversy was decided.[17] Their action, however, merely reflected the acrimonious atmosphere which the Sunday issue had created in the community.

The Republican party nominated Theodore Macknet, a Newark businessman, for mayor. He was committed to strict enforcement and he had the full support of the Law and Order League together with the city's temperance societies.[18]

The Democrats, heretofore weak in municipal politics, recognized in the heated Sunday issue an opportunity to capture the traditionally Republican German vote. The keynoter of the Democratic convention called for the nomination of a man who would be "acceptable to that large portion of the community who had recently become disgusted with the Republican Party." They found such a man in William H. F. Fiedler, American-born but of German antecedents. He made clear in his acceptance address that he well understood what was expected of him should he be elected. "I shall do all in my power," he informed his audience, "to legislate in the interests of those who place me in nomination."[19]

Fiedler won the election by a majority of 3,367. It was generally conceded that his success had been made possible by the German defection from Republican ranks. Even the Thirteenth Ward of the Hill district, traditionally the Tenth Legion of the Republican party in Newark, was carried by the Democrats in that election.[20]

[16] *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1879.
[17] *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1879.
[18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 14, 21, 1879.
[19] *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1879; Urquhart, *op. cit.*, III, 233.
[20] *Sentinel of Freedom*, Oct. 21, 1879, Oct. 19, 1880; Frank Urquhart, *A Short History of Newark* (Newark, 1916), p. 150.

The election of a German-supported mayor in 1879 did more to ease the tension in the community than to settle the Sunday question. Fiedler could not redeem his rash promise "to legislate in the interests of those who place me in nomination" because the electorate returned to Republican control both the Common Council and the county delegation to the state legislature.[21] There was "no quick repeal of the Sunday laws."[22] In his first message to the Common Council, Mayor Fiedler reprimanded the members of the Board of Excise for their partisanship in the recent controversy and cautioned them to perform their duties impartially. Beyond this, apparently nothing else was done to eliminate the Sabbath observance question from the realm of controversy. Both political parties now regarded the verdict of 1879 as having settled the question for all time.[23]

The contest, however, was not at all settled. It was merely put in abeyance until a new rift in the community should bring it again into prominence. The Newark Presbytery had no intention of relenting in the struggle against Sabbath desecrators, whereas the brewers maintained their Citizens' Protective Association to guard against future conservative attacks.[24] The apprehension of the brewers was not without justification. Although conservative extremists had little political strength left by the 1880's, some eight to ten thousand descendants of the original settlers still wielded a strong influencce in the city.[25]

Apparently the more astute Democratic politicians perceived that expanding industrialism had induced a change in the political balance of the growing city. They elected a mayor twice during the 1880's, although the Republicans retained control of the Common Council each time. Thus weakened in municipal politics, conservatives turned to the courts as a means of stopping Sabbath infractions. The Law and Order League petitioned the courts to revoke the licenses of saloonkeepers who sold on Sunday. But their campaign for a Puritan Sabbath, as it was crystallized around the struggle against the saloons, was doomed to

[21] *Sentinel of Freedom,* Nov. 11, 1879.
[22] *Ibid.,* Oct. 21, 1879.
[23] *Annual Message of the Mayor,* 1880, pp. 33-34; *Sentinel of Freedom,* Sept. 20, 1881.
[24] *Sentinel of Freedom,* April 13, 1880; June 2, 1883.
[25] Urquhart, *History of Newark,* II, 825.

failure by certain hard realities of municipal growth. Saloon licenses, for example, were bringing large sums of money into the city's treasury. Fees from saloon licenses came to $53,723 in 1880; by 1890, the fees from saloon licensing gave to the city a revenue of $294,750.[26]

An outburst of the Sabbath controversy occurred again in 1891. Actually it was a case of smouldering embers bursting into flame. The outburst was precipitated by the meeting in Newark of the sixteenth Great German *Saengerfest,* a quadrennial song festival in which nearly all the German-speaking communities in the nation participated. Not only Germans, but all Newark was excited by the event. So momentous was the occasion that the mayor issued a proclamation calling for the proper observance of the *Saengerfest.*[27]

On the weekend of July 4, 1891, nearly five thousand singers from all over the country and an audience estimated at 100,000 combined to make the festival a splendid success aesthetically and financially. It was "a brilliant triumph for German song and German good fellowship," and the Newark press applauded "the excellence and charm of the *Lieder* of the Saengerfest."[28]

But for Puritan-minded conservatives public desecration of the Sabbath by the *Saengerfest* was clear proof of the presence in Newark of "a great menacing, living, curse."[29] For fifteen consecutive Sundays the Rev. James Brady delivered fiery sermons from his pulpit in which he bitterly attacked the Germans of Newark and their way of life. "The breach [of the Sabbath] was too extensive and influential," thundered the Reverend Mr. Brady, "to pass unnoticed by any clear-eyed, single-hearted, 'watchmen' on the wall of Zion."[30]

The bitterness in these sermons patently reflected the friction produced by the impact of new population elements associated with the development of the city, a tension that was especially

[26]*Annual Report of the Excise Commissioners,* 1880, p. 423; *ibid.,* 1890, p. 129; *Sentinel of Freedom,* Nov. 13, 1888.

[27]*Fest-Schrift zum goldenen Jubilaeum des Maennergesang-Vereins Arion in Newark, N.J.* (hereafter cited as *Festschrift*), p. 27; *Daily Advertiser,* June 29, 1891.

[28]*Daily Advertiser,* July 6, 1891; *Festschrift,* p. 27; James Boyd Brady, *The Saengerfest Sermons* (Newark, 1891), p. viii.

[29]Brady, *op. cit.,* p. xi.

[30]*Ibid.,* p. 4.

bitter because of Newark's Puritan tradition. Now again the Germans were singled out and blamed for what was happening, although Newark itself did not entirely escape the Reverend's censure.[31] Pointing an accusing finger at the city as a whole, he charged: "She [the city of Newark] supplied herself abundantly with her most odoriferous and gummy fluid; tricked in her most variegated finery, and flounting in her red, white, and blue bunting presented herself to dance obedience to the Sabbath befouling sackbuts of the Sabbath defiling Teuton."[32]

At this juncture, however, the Reverend Mr. Brady was as a voice crying in the wilderness. The 1,303 Newark liquor licenses outstanding in 1895 brought the city $375,750 in revenue. Moreover, the Democrats, who had been advocating "salutary neglect" in the enforcement of the Sunday laws, were electing their candidates for mayor with regularity. And even when conservative protest against open Sunday selling became too vociferous, the license inspector publicly exempted "sacred concerts" and other types of amusements from the Sunday laws in the German districts.[33]

Much of the "religious fanaticism" in connection with Sunday laws had been dissipated by the turn of the century.[34] But now the growing social influence of the saloons gave clergymen fresh cause for concern, a concern which was effectively exploited by conservative elements to bring the Sunday closing question once more into focus.

Newark's Roman Catholic clergy especially became extremely concerned around 1906 over the influence saloons were exerting upon their foreign-born communicants. They therefore publicly declared a willingness to join with other church bodies in an attempt to obtain regulatory legislation against the saloons.[35] Protestant clergymen, eager to renew the war against the saloons and Sunday selling, readily joined the Catholic clergy in the crusade. They agreed that the most effective blow that could be dealt the saloons was through the state legislature. However,

[31] *Daily Advertiser,* July 13, 1891.

[32] Brady, *op. cit.,* pp. 10, 14.

[33] Excise Commissioners, *Report,* 1895, p. 19; *Newark, the Metropolis of New Jersey* (Newark, 1901), pp. 26-27; *Sunday Call,* April 14, 1901.

[34] *Sunday Call,* July 13, 1902.

[35] *Ibid.,* Jan. 21, 1906, Dec. 6, 1908.

when the crusade reached Trenton the Protestant clergy wrested control of the movement from the Catholics and, instead of asking for the regulatory legislation wanted by Catholic clergymen, they insisted upon a measure that would make it practically impossible to sell on Sunday.[36]

Essex County Democrats in the state legislature now saw in the clergymen's demands an opportunity to make political capital. They had successfully used the Sunday question to gain political headway in the city of Newark, but hitherto they had been unable to crack the strong Republican machine in Essex County. If Democrats could help discredit the Republican-controlled state legislature with the onus of having enacted a saloon law which embodied the clergymen's demands, might they not then be able to capture in the next election not only Newark but Essex County as well? The Democrats were extremely adroit in implementing this strategy, so that in 1906 the state legislature duly passed what came to be known as the Bishop's Law.[37]

The law raised the fee on liquor licenses. It made mandatory the removal from saloon windows of all obstructions to the view of the passer-by. It further provided that members of the Excise Board be appointed by the Court of Common Pleas.[38] Through this law the conservative groups appeared to have won the victory that had been eluding them since 1879. What they had failed to achieve through municipal action they now realized with the aid of a Republican-controlled state legislature. But the Bishop's Law turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory. Public reaction to its severity awakened in a large body of heretofore inarticulate citizens a desire for modification of the Sunday laws. Speaking for this middle group, the influential *Sunday Call* wrote:

> What the people want is a reasonable regulation of the sale of liquor, according to their established customs and opinions. They regard the present laws and the new one as defiance of their will in a matter which they should govern. If the new law is enforced with strictness, they will rebel.[39]

The Bishop's Law was "enforced with strictness." Having obtained their way at Trenton, the conservatives ran into more good fortune in the county sheriff's office. The office at that time

[36] *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1906.
[37] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1906.
[38] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1906, Aug. 12, 1906.
[39] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1906.

was occupied by Mr. Frank H. Sommer, an independent Republican. Sheriff Sommer was versed in the law and his political convictions demanded clean government and the impartial enforcement of the laws. Because the Bishop's Law was only half-heartedly enforced by the municipal police, an appeal was made to Sheriff Sommer. He came to Newark and found corruption in the police department. Thereupon, as chief peace officer of the county, Sheriff Sommer "reasserted the common law powers of the Sheriff" and strictly enforced the Bishop's Law.[40]

To the opponents of the Bishop's Law it was clear that political action on the county level was needed to neutralize the irksome features of the law. An election was approaching in 1908 and Sheriff Sommer could not legally succeed himself. The Germans organized huge demonstrations against the law, in which they had the support of the Essex Trades Council as well as that of the Italian-speaking community. There was a greater determination than ever before to deal Puritanism in Newark a crushing defeat at the polls.[41]

Democrats in the meantime were readying themselves to reap a full harvest from their maneuver of 1906. They nominated Jacob Haussling for mayor. He was also the candidate of the Newark brewers. A vote for Haussling, cried the Democrats, was a vote against the unpopular Bishop's Law. The Democratic nominee for sheriff was William Harrington, who had promised "to let things run as they were before."[42] The result was a great Democratic victory and a devastating defeat for conservatism. Aside from electing Haussling and Harrington, the county Board of Freeholders for the first time also fell to Democratic control.[43]

The Democratic victory was a reflection in the political arena of the problems resulting from increasing urbanism in Newark. For Republicans, who had championed the conservative cause, the defeat of 1908 was the costliest they had suffered during the

[40]Frank H. Sommer, letter to the author, May 20, 1951; *Sunday Call,* Aug. 5, 1906; July 22, 1906; W. Edgar Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton* (New York, 1914), II, 218. After serving as sheriff of Essex County, the Hon. Frank H. Sommer became dean of the New York University Law School.

[41]*Sunday Call,* March 11, 1906; June 7, 28, 1908.

[42]*Ibid.,* Nov. 8, 1908; interview with the Hon. Charles P. Gillen, March 9, 1951.

[43]*Sunday Call,* Nov. 11, 1908.

period from 1870 to 1910. Even independent Republicans were dragged to defeat because they failed to grasp the true character of the issues in the campaign.[44]

Puritan influence was much weakened by the turn of the century. Repeated Democratic success in the formerly Republican stronghold attested to this in the political sphere. But the Sabbath question was still not completely retired by 1910. Politicians were reluctant to part with it as a campaign issue. For the lack of an enforceable Sunday statute there was still some social friction between native Newarkers and their European-born neighbors. The contest over the manner of Sabbath observance, however, was merely one facet of the broader struggle between two value systems. As the urban influence became pervasive it became increasingly more difficult for the Puritan ethos to maintain its dominant position in the community. While it had not disappeared entirely by 1910, it was fast being displaced by a cultural synthesis which was emerging from the struggle between the two value systems. When the *Saengerfest* was brought to Newark for a second time in 1906 the editor of the *Sunday Call* used the occasion to call his readers' attention to the social and cultural transformation that had taken place in the community. The editorial in part stated:

> If the German has been 'assimilated' . . . the American has undergone somewhat the same process, and the German who has lived in Newark for the better part of a half century may smile and remark that the American has come half way in effecting the union. How complete the change has been in the attitude of our people toward the question which once seemed to raise an inseparable barrier. For what the German citizen of Newark has done to this city, every Newarker has cause for eternal gratitude. More than to any other people is due the Germans the credit of liberalizing public sentiment in old Puritan Newark. No people have done more toward securing independence of political judgement; none have contributed more to firmly establish the principles of business integrity; their delight in home and in children and respect for age have influenced the whole city, and in the matter which brings the Saengerfest to Newark, the advancement of music, a lasting debt for culture is due. The singing societies, the pride in them, their own composers, the delight in any kind of musical performance which is characteristic of the German people have sustained musical interests in Newark when they would have languished hopelessly without the German aid and appreciation.[45]

[44]Frank H. Sommer, letter to the author, May 20, 1951; *Sunday Call,* Nov. 8, 1908.
[45]*Ibid.,* June 24, 1906.

The Operations in New Jersey

An English Officer Describes the Events of December 1776

THE LETTER printed below is among the papers of the Second Marquis of Rockingham which recently have been deposited in the City Library at Sheffield.[1] It describes the important operations in New Jersey at the end of 1776 and the beginning of 1777, i.e. Washington's counter-stroke at Trenton and Princeton.

There can be no doubt that it was written to Rockingham by Thomas Dowdeswell, an officer in the 1st Foot Guards, and son of the William Dowdeswell of Pull Court, near Tewkesbury, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first Rockingham administration (1765-66).[2] This Thomas Dowdeswell joined the 1st Foot Guards as an ensign on February 22, 1773, was promoted lieutenant and captain, April 26, 1776, and retired on June 17, 1778. He served in America during the War of Independence from April, 1776, until July, 1777, being then invalided home owing to an affliction of the eyes said to have been caused by exposure to cold and damp.

There is ample evidence of the hardships suffered by both sides during the operations described here and Dowdeswell, who supplies some of this evidence himself, had his own reason for doing so. Indeed, the unfortunate man soon afterwards lost his sight. He continued, however, to participate in local affairs. He retained the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Worcestershire Militia (to which he had been appointed on October 9, 1775) until December 25, 1781. He was also Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for the country, dying, aged fifty-seven, on November 10, 1811.

His letter reveals, in many ways, an interesting personality. His reference to Howe's proclamation and apparent desire for

[1]In this collection it is R.1-941 and is printed by courtesy of Earl Fitzwilliam and the Wentworth Woodhouse Estates Coy.

[2]The endorsement of thq letter gives no clue to the precise identity of the writer and, in any case, is possibly not contemporary.

an amicable settlement of the Anglo-American conflict suggest a view of the war which is not unexpected in view of his family's political connections. He was also, it seems, not inclined to underestimate the quality of his opponents in the field. His assessment is well balanced. It is true that he describes the shortcomings of the American militia and in terms as critical as those being used by Washington[3] himself; but he praises the equipment of the Continentals and at the same time notes the shortage of boots among the British regulars. Nor is he so harsh as others were in his criticism of the conduct of the unfortunate, if negligent, Colonel Rahl. His tribute to Washington's skill is evidently sincere.

In general, this young officer (he was barely of age), gives an attractive impression of chivalry and good sense which it is hard to believe was wholly exceptional among his comrades.[4]

University of Sheffield. J. E. Tyler.

Thomas Dowdeswell to Rockingham, January 16, 1777

My Lord,

As his Majesty's Troops have received a check at the latter end of so successfull a campaign, I have taken the Liberty of informing you of some of the Particulars of it.—

After having pretty well scoured the Jersey's, Col: Dunhopp with the Hessian Grenadiers & Chasseurs and the 42 Regt. under his command were ordered to take post at Burlington, Col: Rahl with three Battalions H. [i.e. Hessian] Fuzilier's being at the same time order'd to post himself at Trentown the Light Infantry & some light Dragoons were at Princetown, the Grenadiers & Guards at Brunswick & the Environs, the 33rd at Amboy, with a chain from thence to Newark.[5] On the 25th of last Month, Intelligence was received that Col: Rahl wou'd be attacked on

[3]Cf. Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), p. 191.

[4]For particulars of Dowdeswell and his family, see the *Victoria County History of Worcester*, IV, 48, and Robert Holden, *Historical Record of the First and Fourth Battalions of the Worcestershire Regiment* (London, 1887), p. 271. I am indebted to Mr. A. F. A. Keen, A.L.A., Chief Librarian of Worcester, for his assistance in this connection.

[5]The map in Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution*, which faces p. 169, gives Howe's dispositions for winter quarters in New Jersey, 1776. "Dunhopp" is more correctly "Von Donop." "Rahl" also appears as "Rall." I have, however, throughout, retained Dowdeswell's spelling and punctuation.

the next Day, a large Body of Rebels, with a considerable train of Artillery, having repassed the Delaware for that Purpose. On the 26th in the Evening his Outposts were attacked, but they repulsed the Enemy, without any Loss. The Rebels brought down Cannon early in the next morning and in a short time surrounded the whole Body (Col: Rahl having rashly supposed that he had drove the whole Rebel Force, made no Disposition in case of an attack) 600 Hessians with 17 stands of colours and six field Pieces, were taken, a party of the 16th L: Dragoons & a Company of L: Infantry which were with the Hessians at Trentown made their Escape. Col: Dunhopp retreated to Princetown immediately, as his post at Burlington cou'd not be kept, after the Loss of Trentown. On the 1st of January, the B: Grenadiers, the Guards and the 2d Brigade under Genl: Leslie, received orders to marched [*sic*]. we marched that night to Princetown where we came up with the Hessian Grenadiers, Chasseurs and Light Infantry, the next morning (Lord Cornwallis having joined us in the night) the Army marched towards Trentown, expecting either to engage the Rebels, or drive them over the Delaware with considerable Loss to them. But, Genl: Washington, by a Manoeuvre which does him the greatest Credit, found means in the night of the 2nd Inst: to pass us upon our left, quite unperceived, & march'd that whole night towards Princetown, which place he attacked before Daybreak on the morning of the 3rd Inst. the 17th Regt. under Col: Mawhood stationed there, with part of the 55th and the Dismounted Men of the 16th L: Drag^{ns}: made a most gallant Defence, drove the Enemy's advanced Guard, which consisted of a very large Body, and took three of their Cannon but the main army of the Rebels, coming up to support their advanced party, the Brittish were obliged to retreat, & in return lost four of their field Pieces. the 40th Regt: did not do themselves any Credit by the early Retreat they made towards Brunswick on the first Alarm.

Upon the report of fire arms, the B: Grenadier's, the 16th L: Dragoons, and the 1st Batt$^{n.}$ of G^{ds} (the 2d Batt$^{n.}$ being left to take care of Brunswick, and Genl. Lee) were order'd to return towards Princetown, which we did with the utmost Expedition, but did not arrive soon enough to come up with the Rebels, as

they still continued their march. However we retook all the Guns we had lost in the action. In a few Hour's the whole Army joined us, & we made a forced march to Brunswick, where we arrived two Hour's before Day-Break & were formed ready to receive them, But, in all probability they got some Intelligence of our Disposition, as they took a Different Route. The Army in the Jersey's, under Lord Cornwallis, is now in miserable cantonments with their right to Amboy, & their left to Brunswick. We are strong in numbers & have nothing to dread from Mr. Washington, whose army is now with their left at Elizabeth Town, & their right at Morristown. I have troubled your Lordship with the particulars of our last affair at Princetown, and of our present Cantonments, as I do not doubt, there will be many different accounts. Six or seven officers with their Servants are obliged to lay upon the Floor in the same Room for want of Quarter's, nor have we had our Cloaths off since the 31st of last Month.

The Rebels have now fourteen Day's remaining, wherein they must determine either to fight, or come in upon the Proclamation.[6] as a Soldier, I hope they will refuse to make any terms with us. But, as a Citizen, I sincerely wish the contrary.

That the Rebels are in want of every necessary is a Language which I have heard, but there is no truth in such an assertion. Some of the prisoners we took at Princetown had exceeding good Cloaths, Shoes etc. The Militia which are assembled in considerable number's (& by compulsion) are indeed a miserable set of Being's almost naked, & as the weather is now setting in severe with a Fall of snow, I think they must soon quit the Field. The first thing our English Soldiers look for is Shoes, We are much in want of them, many of our men not being able to march with us, on that account.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon for having taken up so much of your Time and have only to add, that if I can be of any Service here to your Lordship, or Lady Rockingham, I should think myself happy to be employed & am

Your Lordship's most Obt
and faithfull Humble Servant
Thos. Dowdeswell

Rariton Landing
Jan. 16th 1777

[6]The "Proclamation" (i.e. of Howe) allowed sixty days from November 30, 1776.

Early Campaigns in North Carolina

The Diary of Private Edmund J. Cleveland, Company K, 9th New Jersey Volunteers

EDITED BY EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR.

[*Continued from page 65*]

MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1863

This morning a baker came to my tent and asked me if I did not wish to be detailed to work at the government bakery. Not being proficient in the art, I respectfully declined the offer.

Col. Cook has commenced paying "veterans" the Paterson $300 bounty. I heard that one man had $400 stolen from him last night.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1863

It seems that small pox has broken out in the camp of the 21st Conn. Men in all companies have been vaccinated during the past two or three days.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1863

We had a slight snow storm this afternoon. We may have the ground covered by Christmas.

Gen. Heckman has issued an order that sutlers receive no more than 20% above New York prices for their goods. If not connected with regiments they are to pay to the Brigade treasurer 2 cents per head for all enlisted men and officers. Several have left.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1863

A very merry day. Capt. Ritter arrived from home bringing me two packages. Owing to a broken bottle in the captain's trunk, a number of the articles smelt and tasted like brandy. We have had our cake for supper.

Lt. Townley received the white gloves from Jersey. They are excellent for both looks and comfort. I have three pairs. We made a fine appearance at dress parade today.

Christmas Day, Friday, December 25, 1863

A very beautiful Christmas. Before reveille the boys rushed into one another's tents, shouting "Merry Christmas." The chaplain came around, wishing all "Merry Christmas" and presenting each with a copy of Oliver Wendell Holmes' Army Hymn.

O Lord of Hosts, Almighty King.
Behold the sacrifice we bring.

He invited us to attend Christmas service this evening and I intend to go.

This afternon we were given liberty to leave camp and I went over to the camp of the 23rd Mass. They had a fantastical parade where the privates acted as officers. They were dressed up in various costumes. Among the orders read was, that, owing to the need of more troops, the government had increased the bounty to $3,000 and the furlough to two years. In making their reports the orderlies noted that two men were drunk from "Plantation Bitters" and two had gone after "Plantation Bitters."

The drum major wore a huge hat made of canvas drawn over a frame work and decked with onions and chicken feathers. His baton was a long pole with a cabbage head on it.

Evening. I have just returned from the chapel which was so crowded that again I could not get in.

Saturday, December 26, 1863

On guard. My post is inside the guard house, guarding the door of the apartment, where a number of prisoners are now confined.

Sunday, December 27, 1863

The weather has moderated. A number of men from different companies formed a Bible Class which meets with the chaplain every Sunday afternoon in the chapel. It is a good idea.

At dress parade a number of orders were read. One announced that government bounties for re-enlistment will cease after January 5. At this time if ¾ of a regiment or of a company re-enlistment has been completed, they will be sent as a body on a 30 days furlough. Another order announced the findings of the recent court-martial presided over by Col. Zabriskie. Tom Ford,

Co. G, was sentenced to the "Rip-Raps" for confinement and hard labor for the remainder of his enlistment. The offence was absence without leave and using abusive language to officers.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1863

Stormy day, preventing all drills and dress parade. Co. H went to target practice and Co. K is ordered tomorrow. This is probably to improve our marksmanship.

Last evening I attended Church. The chapel, trimmed with Christmas green, was crowded as usual. One lady was present. She was with Capt. Harris. Hers was the first female singing voice I have heard in a long time. The chaplain was much pleased with the attendance.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1863

Today Co. K went out for target practice. The targets are placed on the bank of the river, above the camp of Battery H, 3rd N.Y. Artillery. The distance was about 100 yards. We fired six rounds apiece. When we lined up for dress parade the list of best marksmen was read as follows: 1st Peer; 2nd Sergt. Green; 3rd Cadmus; 4th Swain; 5th Williams; 6th Cleveland; 7th Corp. McQuade; 8th Corp. Knapp.

Gen. Heckman has offered the award of a medal to the best marksman of each regiment in the brigade. I have heard it remarked that K's target was the best riddled of any in the regiment.

It promises to be a gay New Year's Day. A party has been practising axe-throwing in the company street. There is also to be "pigeon shooting."

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1863

We fired seven rounds this morning and the target was so riddled that it hardly held together when being brought back to camp.

This morning Sergt. Wright ordered me to come to the lieutenant's tent to help Corp. Townley make out the muster rolls. I did the reading. The corporal did the writing. It was a tedious task.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1863

Another rainy day. It seems that the old years intends to make a wet exit. Last night at roll call Lt. Townley announced the best shots of yesterday. The order is 1 Swain; 2 Sergt. Green; 3 Cadmus; 4 Peer; 5 Hoover; 6 G. Townley; 7 Dalaney; 8 Williams; 9 Cleveland. I hope it is clear tomorrow. Good bye 1863.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1864

New Year's Day has been clear, cold and breezey. The storm ceased before daylight. The first thing this morning, Sergt. Green announced that the "fantasticals" would turn out this afternoon. I immediately began to fix up a rig for the occasion. I ornamented my blouse with bits of white flannel, placing on the back a faced crescent cut out of the same material. I borrowed Peer's knit cap and decked it out the same way. With pantaloons thrust in stocking legs, at the sound of the bugles, I sallied forth and met other members of Co. K. Most of them carried rifles but I was armed with a broom-stick.

Suydam, Co. F, was colonel. Sergt. Green commanded our company, until Sergt Wright came out on stilts which made him 8 ft. high. But when he tried to march, he stumbled and fell, and then went back to his quarters. All the drummers were green hands. A cavalryman, named Church, acted as major general. Following a drill we had dress parade. Among the orders had was one from Col. "Mixed Whiskey." He directed that rations of the fluid be given out ½ oz. to privates, ½ barrel to officers.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1864

On guard. Very chilly. Last evening Lt. Townley borrowed my rifle. After gunning and target practice, he returned it very dirty. I have been busy all day scouring it.

Winans brought my box from home to the guard house. It contained some articles as tracts, handkerchiefs, etc., and many delicacies such as doughnuts, crullers, cakes, hickory nuts, head cheese, pickles, preserves, jellies, fruit cake, pound cake, cup cakes and two pies. Everything was in excellent condition. We had a first-rate supper. The pie was the best I have eaten since leaving Jersey.

[*To be continued*]

SMALL & SUNDRY

Whoops!

"The Common Council of Trenton have at last [1857] determined to make an effort to afford to the citizens of that city and the rest of mankind free egress through the streets, by removing therefrom the voluminous hoop arrangements, which heretofore have driven gentlemen of all grades and conditions to the alternate of running very cautiously through the centre of the street to save themselves from the dangers that threatened them. The following ordinance was introduced by him [*sic*] at the last regular meeting of Council:

"An ordinance to prevent obstructing the sidewalks by rolling or wearing hoops of unusual dimensions.

"Be it ordained and enacted . . . That from and after the passage of this ordinance it shall not be lawful for children to roll, or women to wear hoops of over five feet in diameter, upon any of the sidewalks of the city of Trenton.

" . . . It shall be the duty of all mantua-makers within the corporate limits to notify their patrons of the existence of this ordinance, and they are hereby forbid, under a penalty of ten dollars, to make any dress for any person that shall be over 5 feet in diameter, 15 feet in circumference, and contain over 33½ yards of material.

" . . . It shall be the duty of the Marshal to arrest any and all persons, and bring them before the Mayor, for violating this ordinance . . . "—*The Daily New-Brunswicker,* April 9, 1857.

Lambertville

If this unsigned letter of November 2, 1841, describes it accurately, the town of Lambertville was a pleasant spot indeed:

"The improvements which have recently been made and are now going on in this thriving town, are worthy of public notice—at least of a passing remark from us.

"Lambertville is pleasantly situated on the river Delaware, 15 miles above Trenton, 30 from Philadelphia, and 60 from New York. It[s] location for business, and the great facilities it possesses for building and improvement, are equal to any in the State—surrounded by an agricultural district of country, improving and unsurpassed in beauty and richness.

"The great and unusual facilities for getting to and from the two great markets of New York and Philadelphia, and its permanent and extensive water-power, and favorable sites for building mills and factories —created by the navigable Feeder of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, which passes through the place—altogether considered, render it one of the most eligible situations in the country, for capitalists and mechanics to embark in the manufacturing business, or in any of the mechanical trades.

"The improvements already made

on the water-power are especially worthy of notice. The first improvement of the water-power was made by John Coryell, Esq. in the year 1837, by the erection of his large merchant grist mill, which has ever since been in active and successful operation—carried on by Messrs. T. & J. Crook, whose fame as millers, especially in the manufacture of kiln dried corn meal, is well known—Their brand stands high in our commercial cities, as well as in foreign markets. This extensive milling establishment continues to draw to the place large quantities of grain from the surrounding country—thus giving a stimulus to the grain market, and to the trade and business of the village generally. The success attending the efforts of its public spirited and enterprizing proprietor, has induced others to follow his noble example—which has already given Lambertville a standing with her sister towns, and conferred permanent benefit on the whole business community, as well as greatly increased the value of property in the place and vicinity. There has been since put in operation, two saw mills, two plaster mills, an oil mill, a large iron and brass foundry and machine manufactory, which employs a number of hands. Another flouring mill is erecting; and an additional saw mill, on a scale for sawing long timber, with suitable machinery, has been commenced the present fall by the Messrs. Ely, which, from present appearances, bids fair to be an important work, and we learn will be in operation the ensuing spring. Besides which, we observe with pleasure that a number of substantial private residences have been erected, and others in the course of erection. The business of the place appears to be increasing in an equal ratio with the improvements and population. Few places within our knowledge can boast of such advantages of locality and connexion. With a healthy and salubrious atmosphere, and a busy, industrious, and enterprizing population, it would be strange indeed, if it did not go rapidly ahead. Of the business done in Lambertville, of which the lumber and lime trade form two important items, we shall notice hereafter."—*Hunterdon Gazette,* Flemington, November 10, 1841.

"Hark! the Drum beats."

By the many who have passed of late through his hands, the recruiting sergeant is remembered as a being of less than human character. For the benefit of cynics, we would recall one of that species who—in 1798—was indeed human, even gentlemanly, and above all, whimsical. This, his siren cry, appeared in the *Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser* of July 24, 1798. France, it will be remembered, was a source of alarm in that year, and many persons (especially those of Federal persuasion) slept lightly in their fear of foreign invaders.

"The undersigned, recruiting Sergeant to the honorable Ensign [William R.] Boote, of the brave and glorious third United States regiment of Infantry, begs leave to have the honor of informing the

youth of New-Jersey in general, and the lads of the counties of Middlesex and Somerset in particular, that the rendezvous is still continued at New-Brunswick, for the reception of such young fellows of spirit, as may wish to acquire the erect attitude, manly deportment, genteel address, and warlike whiskered phiz of a *regular continental soldier*. Nothing need be advanced to induce the young men who, (disdaining an inactive life, and nobly preferring a musket to inglorious rustic implements) have served a campaign or two with credit to themselves and commanders, to re-enter the service, when they learn that they will be commanded by the great, illustrious, magnanimous General Washington. But to those youthful heroes who have never seen the world or heard the inspiring heart cheering sound of the drum and trumpet, he begs leave to address a few words. Your country my boys, is threatened with invasion! Your houses and farms with fire, plunder and pillage! and your wives and sweethearts with ravishment and assassination, by horrid outlandish Sansculottes Frenchmen! The time is now arrived when every man must convert his ploughshares into swords and his pruning hooks into spears, or be torn limb from gut, and devoured alive by blood thirsty ferocious cannibals—

"But you will say; why mention these things to hearts of oak, to whom the knowledge of the critical situation of their country, with the honor of being permitted to fight her battles and the glory of receiving scars in her service, would be sufficient inducement to rally round her standard?—To arms then, my dear brave boys! leave your lonesome cottages, and repair to the drum head at New-Brunswick, where you will find me and my comrades (all true sons of thunder) drinking bowls of cool grog, to the health and honor of Congress and our noble President.

"You shall there receive a handsome bounty, with five dollars a month, (until promoted) an elegant suit of clothes, draw daily rations that might tempt an epicure, and be treated with kindness and attention by your loving friend and sincere well wisher, James Hamilton, *Recruiting Sergeant.*"

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

MOST IMPORTANT, among the historical news notes as this April issue of the PROCEEDINGS goes to press, is the second annual New Jersey Historical Conference, which will be co-sponsored this year by the Morris County Historical Society at Morristown on Saturday, May 24, 1952. Those of us who attended last year's meeting at Burlington—and there were some three hundred present—will remember it as a very successful and edifying experience. It is fully anticipated that the coming conference will be every bit as enthusiastically attended.

Tentative plans call for morning, afternoon, and evening meetings devoted to workshop groups and lecture sessions; luncheon and dinner served at the high school (which will be headquarters for the conference); and a tour of Morristown National Historical Park, site of the Revolutionary War encampment, the Ford House and Historical Museum, and other historic spots. Announcements are being circulated to the memberships of this society and the local societies throughout the state.

A membership campaign is once more under way. Mr. Damon Douglas, chairman of the Membership Committee, is working on plans to distribute ten thousand recently published membership brochures, explaining the purposes of the Society, to historically interested persons throughout the state. We shall be happy to send copies and postage-free application forms to anyone who has use for them. Names of prospective new members will also be welcomed.

To mark Washington's Birthday, the Society presented a television program for the Television Council for Higher Education over WATV on the evening of February 18th, the theme being "George Washington and New Jersey." In the course of the program, Washington's appearance and traits of character were discussed and illustrated with a variety of portrait likenesses and an original letter written by him in 1780 to Benjamin Franklin from Bergen County. Appearing as guest on the program was Mr. Melvin Weig, historian of the Morristown National Historical Park, who discussed Washington's war years in New Jersey and his experiences during the winters of 1777 and 1779-80 at Morristown.

Several acquisitions worthy of note were received recently. From Mrs. William S. Hunt, widow of the former president of this society, we received a collection of autographs of New Jersey figures of historical importance, which included those of Jonathan Belcher,

William Franklin, General George B. McClellan, Harman Blennerhasset, Woodrow Wilson, and others; and from Mrs. Robert C. Bourne, a collection of manuscripts and printed ephemera pertaining to Newark in the mid-19th century. A colorful uniform of the Essex Troop of Newark, socially prominant military organization of the early twentieth century and now the 102nd Cavalry, U.S. National Guard, was presented by Mr. Frederick W. Giese of Maplewood. This was supplemented shortly thereafter by an Essex Troop cape and overseas cap, the gift of Mr. Samuel H. Wilde of East Orange.

A large collection of manuscript letters, legal documents, and other papers of Peter D. Vroom (1791-1873) was recently acquired. Vroom, governor and chancellor of New Jersey, lawyer, congressman, and minister to the Court of Prussia, was a conspicuous figure in New Jersey's history. These papers, covering the period from about 1820 to 1893 and including diaries, documents relating to the case of Day vs. Goodyear (a very early suit involving the manufacture of rubber), and correspondence during Vroom's period as governor and United States minister to Prussia, are worthy additions to our manuscript collection.

Work is progressing on a new exhibition—a New Jersey Heritage Gallery, which will tell the story of New Jersey's history in a dozen panels, each containing a picture, a map, museum materials, and explanatory labels. Also displayed will be oil portraits of prominent New Jerseyans. In preparation for the installation of this exhibit, the second-floor east gallery was redecorated through the courtesy of the Woman's Branch.

We are now the proud possessors of a portable microfilm reader and a simple photoduplicating device which will eliminate to a great extent the dangerous practice of removing valuable documents from the building to be photostated. The acquisition of both was made possible through the generosity of a grant from the Frelinghuysen Foundation.

Cultural organizations continue to use the Society's facilities for their meetings. The Archeological Society of New Jersey held its winter meeting here on Saturday, January 19th, to which members of the New Jersey Historical Society were also invited. The speakers were Mr. Charles F. Kier, who showed selections from a growing collection of kodachrome slides on New Jersey archaeology sponsored by the Archeological Society; and Dr. Ethel Boissevain-Lesser, whose subject was "Narragansett Powwow." This was followed on Saturday, January 26th, by a meeting of the New Jersey Huguenot Society, and on Wednesday, February 6th, by the Newark Public Schools Superintendent's monthly conference with principals and central office supervisory staff. At the conference, attended by over 160 public school administrators, the topic, "The Contribution of New Jersey to Our American Heritage," was discussed. Principal speaker was Dr. William R. Ward, Sr., a recipient of the

Newark "First Citizens Award" and trustee of this society. Following the meeting, a tour of the museum was arranged and facilities for receiving school classes were explained.

So far this season, over seven hundred school children have visited the Society's museum in groups. All have been given a demonstrational talk and tour of the galleries, and it has been very heartening to receive numerous complimentary remarks from the teachers, as well as letters of appreciation from the students. The Society has thus far refrained from actively soliciting visits from school groups because of the smallness of its staff. It is hoped, however, that more time can shortly be given to this important work.

On March 22nd, a special program for professors of history and social sciences from institutions of higher learning in this vicinity was held in the Society's auditorium, at which Dr. Thomas Cochran, professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, addressed the gathering on the topic "What is a Community." Following the talk, a coffee hour ensued during which time those present had an opportunity to renew acquaintances and to become familiar with the research facilities of our library.

THROUGHOUT THE STATE

A special exhibition, "Early Arts of New Jersey," showing paintings, silver, and glass, was held at the State Museum, Trenton, from January 17 to March 10, 1952. The exhibition was one of a series which will be presented on the history of arts in New Jersey.

The program of the opening day included a guest speaker, Carl M. Williams of Philadelphia, author and authority on early New Jersey arts and crafts, who spoke about "New Jersey Painters from 1715 to 1850." On the evening of February 20, George S. McKearin of Hoosick Falls, N.Y., author and authority on American glass, gave an illustrated talk, "South Jersey Glass." Both of these programs were attended by over two hundred people from all sections of the state.

The early examples of New Jersey arts and crafts were lent to the State Museum by private collectors, museums, churches, libraries, and historical societies. A catalogue of the exhibition was published.

The New Jersey Historical Society lent several items to the State Museum for this exhibition. The loan comprised an oil painting, "David Alling's House and Shop, Newark" (artist unknown); three pastel portraits, Robert Drummond and Mary Drummond, by an unknown artist, and Isabella Scudder by James Sharples; miniatures of John Jacob Faesch by Samuel Folwell, Cavalier Hamilton Jouet and Mary Buchanan King by Matthew Harris Jouett; silver teaspoons by Benjamin Cleveland; a dark green glass witch ball, South Jersey; a yellow rose paperweight and sailboat paperweight made at Millville, N. J.

The Old Barracks Association of

Trenton will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary on June 12th, with a luncheon for its members and an open house reception for the public in the afternoon. More than fifty years ago a group of women with an appreciative sense of historic values began raising funds to purchase the south end of the barracks and on June 12, 1902, the permanent organization of the Association was effected.

A long time before, when not much was made of historic buildings, a street had been extended through the original barracks. The new association with a decade of effort aroused public interest in the restoration of the building. The city vacated the street and the state acquired adjacent properties, including the severed north section. The state then rejoined the two sections into the present complete restoration. In 1914 the Association deeded its property to the state, which agreed to maintain the building but left the management and control with the Association, which today has nearly three hundred members.

The Association has recently published a descriptive booklet which sells for twenty-five cents. Written by Alden T. Cottrell, it tells an interesting story of the building of five barracks in various places in New Jersey, and the subsequent history of the one which has survived at Trenton. The colonial legislature erected the buildings as quarters for British troops at the time of the French and Indian War.

Mrs. Frederick Williamson, III, a granddaughter of Mrs. William S. Stryker, one of the leading spirits of the original group, is chairman of the committee arranging the anniversary celebration.

"New Jersey Long Ago" and "New Jersey in the Revolution" are the titles of two lectures on New Jersey history, with accompanying slides in kodachrome, which have been prepared by the New Jersey Society of Colonial Dames under the direction of Mrs. James M. Ralston. These are now available to schools or organizations through the State Museum in Trenton.

Both lectures are divided into two parts, each part planned to last about thirty minutes and primarily designed to be used in classrooms to illustrate the study of American history or problems of democracy. The two parts of each lecture given together make an hour-long program suitable for society meetings. There is no charge for the use of this material; this is a public service undertaken by the Colonial Dames to spread the story of New New Jersey history.

The kodachrome slides were taken or donated by members of the society, and the lectures, written by Mrs. Ralston, are based on a similar project made some years ago by Mrs. Charles H. Breed.

Further information may be obtained by writing to the State Museum Audio-Visual Service, Department of Education, Trenton.

Officials of Bernards Township have graciously given the Basking Ridge Historical Society permission to use the township hall for its quarterly meetings. This township hall property, recently purchased by the Township previously had been

known and referred to as "the academy." Built about 1800 by Rev. Robert Finley, it is a sturdy structure of red brick and it stands as a symbol of past educational efficiency —a school attended by students from several states who were lured by its excellent reputation.

George Washington's birthday anniversary provided the springboard for historic celebrations in many parts of the state. At the Zabriskie-von Steuben house, one of the state's historic sites, more than two hundred people visited during the afternoon. They were received by a committee dressed in historic costumes. Cases of special displays included the frying pan used by Washington, Martha's shawl and a thirteen-star hand-made flag. Cherry tarts and cupcakes were served to the visitors and those who wished could buy as an added souvenir a "plaque" of chocolate impressed with the head of Washington.

Another of the state's historic houses, Boxwood Hall at Elizabeth, observed the First President's anniversary with the opening of an exhibit of graphic pictures showing scenes of the American Revolution. The display was obtained by the state Department of Conservation and Economic Development from *Life* Exhibitions, and was on view at Boxwood until March 7.

Across the Delaware, at Washing Crossing, Pa., February 22 was the date set for the unveiling of the 21-by-12-foot canvas, "Washington Crossing the Delaware," painted for the United States Congress a hundred years ago in Duesseldorf, Germany, by Emanuel Leutze. The painting is on loan for the next two years to the Washington Crossing Methodist Church and is drawing many visitors. After seeing this well-loved picture, people are inclined to recross the river and tour New Jersey's Washington Crossing State Park and the McKonkey Ferry house, maintained as one of the historic sites under the supervision of the state Department of Conservation and Economic Development.

The park has a great diversity of interests. Along the river bank is a picnicking area with fireplaces, and other such areas are located above the highway in Sullivan's Grove. Winding scenic drives through the 375-acre park pass land used for the State Forest Nursery where seedlings are grown and sold at low price to farmers wanting to undertake conservation and reforestation projects on their land. Across the road from the ferry house and its well-tended colonial garden, travelers wait in line to fill thermos bottles with the sparkling clear water from the memorial fountain honoring John Honeyman, Washington's spy.

Springfield's newly organized Church and Cannon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution is initiating a "25 Year Plan," and hopes during that time to make some progress towards integrating architecturally Springfield's public and commercial buildings with its rich colonial and Revolutionary past. Governor Alfred E. Driscoll has paid tribute to the restoration project in a letter to Mrs. M. P. Brown, regent, in which he assured the Chapter of his support.

Although the traditonal architecture of Springfield's past is presently represented only by a few scattered residences and the Presbyterian Church, it is hoped that in the ensuing years the citizens of the town can be persuaded to conform to the early American tradition when renovation or new construction becomes necessary.

The Chapter was also recently deeded the Revolutionary cemetery by the New Jersey State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. This burial ground contains the graves of soldiers in the American army who fell at the Battle of Springfield and it had been the property of the S.A.R. since 1896.

The restored structure of the Old Cohansey Church, erected in 1801 at Roadstown, Cumberland County, was dedicated at appropriate ceremonies on November 25th. Governor Alfred E. Driscoll was a guest of honor and officiated at the presentation of an American flag. Immediately following the dedication services, those present were invited to view an historical exhibition in the chapel and to attend a reception for the governor and other guests of honor.

The Gloucester County Historical Society, with headquarters at the Hunter-Lawrence house in Woodbury, has embarked upon a number of activities: renovation of the library; reinstallation of the Sibyl Tatum Jones collection of museum material; and special programs for children on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month, when there are slides, movies or a story hour illustrating some phase of history particularly interesting to children. A monthly open house is also held, at which a speaker and special exhibition are featured. The February special exhibit showed sketches of old Philadelphia by Frank H. Taylor.

Renovation is also the order of the day at the Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, where exterior repairs and construction of adequate shelving to accommodate their newspaper collection is under way. Miss Elena J. Darling, secretary, reports that co-operation on joint meetings with the Cumberland County Historical Society is proving to be a successful venture.

From the Cumberland Society, Mrs. Howard B. Hancock has announced the acquisition of about one hundred photographs of buildings in Cumberland County which have vanished with the years, the gift of Mr. Walter McPherson. Another important gift recently received was the library of Everett Tomlinson, writer of boys' books of a generation ago. The library is composed of over four hundred volumes of historical reference and was used extensively by the author in his writings. The gift, received from his son, is now in the process of being catalogued.

The Montclair Art Museum held a program, February 29th, on the restoration of historic sites. Appearing on the program was Dr. Louis C. Jones, director of the New York State Historical Association, and Mr. Frank O. Spinney, curator of Old Sturbridge Village at Sturbridge, Massachusetts. It was an honor for your director to introduce

these gentlemen and to have the opportunity to stress the need for restoration projects in New Jersey. A special exhibition on early Pennsylvania German arts and crafts was held at the museum between February 17th and March 30. Mr. Donald A. Shelley, newly appointed curator of art of the Ford Museum at Dearborn, presented a lecture on the subject on March 21st.

At Camden, the Camden County Historical Society held the first of what is hoped will be an annual hobby show on January 11th. Although word has not been received on the outcome of the event, it was anticipated that a great variety of pictures, china, glass, furniture, antiques, jewelry, stamps, clothing, and relics of all sorts would be on exhibition.

The Nutley Historical Society marked the fiftieth anniversary of the town of Nutley at a dinner on Wednesday evening, March 5th. Guest speaker for the occasion was Mr. Frederick Rath, director of the National Council for the Preservation of Historic Sites with headquarters in Washington.

On Tuesday evening, March 4th, the Morris County Historical Society held a meeting at the Morristown Library at which Mr. Arthur W. Clement was guest speaker. Mr. Clement, a trustee of the Brooklyn Museum, spoke on "Early New Jersey Potters."

Nathaniel Raymond Foster, president of the Cranford Historical Society, died January 26 at his home in Cranford at the age of eighty-four. Affectionately known as "Mr. Cranford," Mr. Foster was prominently associated with municipal and historical affairs for well over sixty years.

Work begun three years ago on the restoration of Castle Stevens, Hoboken, built in 1850 by Edwin Augustus Stevens, founder of Stevens Institute of Technology, is now about two-thirds completed. The restoration, which is under the sponsorship of the Institute's Alumni Association, will probably cost about one hundred thousand dollars and it is expected to be completed in about one year.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Miss Ruth M. Keesey of 160 Clinton Avenue, Hillside, New Jersey, is writing on "The Confiscation of Loyalists' Estates in Bergen County" for a Ph.D. thesis under Dr. Richard B. Morris at Columbia University. In it, she hopes to be able to indicate whether or not the confiscation of loyalist lands resulted in a wider distribution of property among larger numbers of owners.

John E. Trowbridge of Cranbury, New Jersey, is preparing a dissertation for an Ed.D. degree at the School of Education, Rutgers University. His title is "Presbyterian Interest in Common Schools in New Jersey, 1816-1866."

Milton M. Klein of 2265 Sedgwick Avenue, New York 68, N. Y., is engaged in preparing a biography of William Livingston (1723-1790) as a dissertation for a Ph.D. degree at Columbia University.

"Mendham Cemeteries Old and

New" is the title of a typewritten volume now being completed by Miss Helen Martha Wright of 161 Harrison Avenue, Jersey City. The volume will contain about 250 pages and, in addition to cemetery inscriptions, will include histories of the cemeteries themselves. Several carbon copies of the volume will be prepared for distribution to libraries.

Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield is preparing a work, perhaps to be called "John Witherspoon Comes to America." In it will be printed Dr. Witherspoon's correspondence during the period 1766-69, relating to negotiations which brought him to Princeton. Most of the material is in the Princeton University Library, but part of it has been obtained from the library of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Miss Agnes Grametbaur, now on the editorial staff of the Division of Texts of the Geological Survey, is continuing work on her bibliography of New Jersey maps, begun while she was on the staff of the Department of Geology at Rutgers University. She is presently compiling the index to twenty-five hundred maps included in her list, which will eventually be published.

Dr. Harry Bischoff Weiss, author of "Typefounders, Copperplate Printers, Stereotypers in Early New York City," published in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, is presently deeply engrossed in a history of applejack in New Jersey from colonial times to the present. Dr. Weiss is director of the Division of Plant Industry, New Jersey State Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Earl H. Herron, 259 Walnut Street, Westfield, N.J., is working on the cholera epidemic of 1832 in New Jersey.

Mrs. Pauline T. Swindells, of 11 Garthwait Terrace, Maplewood, N.J., is writing a master's thesis on the Eighteenth Century school in New Jersey.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

A CONVICTION of the importance of New Jersey is the common bond that draws together the members of this society, growing daily more numerous. A survey of published material of permanent value on this state reveals our conviction shared more widely than we realize. Books, pamphlets, and articles hold New Jersey constantly in the public eye, and their great variety creates a problem not of search, but of selection. Mr. Edward P. Alexander spoke, in his survey of this society and its future, of our responsibility to collect "the voluminous materials of recent history and of business history." The inclusion of such materials with more conventional historical matter here is a step in the discharge of that responsibility.

REVIEWS

FIRST of our guest reviewers is Richard A. Brown of Irvington, a members of this society, who graduated from Rutgers University in 1943 with a degree in history. He collaborated with Earl Schenck Miers in *The General Who Marched to Hell* and was co-editor of *Gettysburg,* for which he did the research. General McClellan, the subject of Bruce Catton's book, was governor of New Jersey, 1878-81, and a resident of West Orange in his later years. There he was a familiar figure, riding over the hills with broad-brimmed hat, on a great white horse.

Reviews by other specialists in history will follow in later issues of the PROCEEDINGS.

Mr. Lincoln's Army. BY BRUCE CATTON. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1951. 372 pages. In these days when the nation is divided by a controversy as to whether the military or its duly elected officials shall formulate top military policy, it may be some consolation to know that the top army brass once included another Mac who was a storm center among Washington officialdom. For back in 1863 the nation's capitol, for the second time in its existence, was threatened with enemy destruction in the form of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia under Robert E. Lee. The responsibility for saving it, and hence the Union, rested squarely on the shoulders of George Brinton McClellan, who, although he had not yet attained his fortieth year, had just assumed command of the defending Army of the Potomac.

It is with this defense, first on the steaming Virginia Peninsula where General McClellan attempted to seize the Confederate capitol at Richmond, thus cutting off Lee's line of supply and retreat, and then in the wooded Maryland farmland around Antietam Creek where the northward surge of the Gray was stopped for the time being, and with the man who directed it, that these pages deal. In an engaging, straightforward, and often informal style, Catton, a newspaper man whose articles in the *Nation* have made him widely known, presents his hero as the brillant, handsome, and cultured military genius who was the idol of his men. But George McClellan had another side to his character. The egotistical, self-righteous snob who left the waiting President of the United States cooling his heels in the downstairs parlor while the General went upstairs and to bed—the warrior who in a dispatch from the Peninsula stated that if he did succeed in taking Richmond it would be no thanks to Lincoln or anyone else in Washington—this facet of his personality the author seems to soft-pedal. But when the continual nagging of politicians, most of whom were Radical abolitionists whose breed McClellan cordially despised, who were uring a frontal attack upon Lee's army against the better judgment of military experts, is taken into account, the reader can almost excuse Little Mac his idiocyncrasies.

Mr. Catton's technique is noteworthy also. Following a pattern made popular largely by Earl Schenck Miers in *Gettysburg* and later in *The General Who Marched to Hell,* Catton paraphrases the primary sources when he does not directly quote them. In following the campaigns and battles depicted in this work, the author leans heavily on diaries, letters, and newspapers and other eyewitness accounts. As one who was associated with Mr. Miers in both of the above-mentioned projects, I believe it can be fairly stated that Catton has had quite as much success.

The account of the battle around the Antietam, reputedly the bloodiest of the whole war, is one of the best which this reviewer has read. Through one of the strangest and most dramatic happenstances in American history, McClellan came into possession of all of Lee's army orders. Thus learning the disposition of all the troops of the Army of Northern Virginia, he was enabled to bring on the battle and stop the Confederates in their tracks. But because of misinformation with regard to Lee's numbers, and because of a reticence which seemed an essential part of his nature, Little Mac failed to press the pursuit of the enemy.

There seems to be little doubt that had the Confederate troops been pressed after Antietam, they could have been destroyed easily, and the Civil War might very well have been brought thus to an end by their decisive defeat. An opportunity ready to be seized was thereupon muffed. The results of this battle made the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation inevitable. And, ironically enough, the

Proclamation all but made it inevitable that George McClellan should relinquish command of the Army of the Potomac whose identity has become inseparable from his own. For McClellan was no Radical, he was a Democrat; and if the war was to be fought on the slavery issue, he was not the one to fight it.

Of special interest to us is the fact that the First, Second, Third, and Fourth New Jersey Volunteers took a conspicuous part in the Peninsular compaign. One of their more polished accomplishments was that of foraging, not always sanctioned by orders from above. So proficient were they in the art, that the ever-witty Phil Kearney, who once commanded them, suggested to the President that if he wanted Richmond taken, all he need do was somehow to place a peach orchard and a hen house on the opposite side. The Jersey boys would surely take the Rebel capitol, just to get the peaches and the hens.

—Richard A. Brown, *Irvington, New Jersey.*

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

The First Testaments Printed in New Jersey. By George C. Rockefeller. (New York, 1951. 4 pages. Reprinted from the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, Volume 45, 1951.)* Discusses the 1779 Isaac Collins edition of the New Testament, recently discovered at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Title-pages of this edition and of the 1782 edition in the Yale University Library are reproduced in facsimile.

Leadership by Design. By Robert W. D'Ambry. (Camden, N.J.: Samuel M. Langston Company, 1951. 93 pages.) The Langston Company, founded in 1901, moved from Philadelphia to Camden in 1904. To inventor Samuel M. Langston is due much credit for the leading position his firm occupies in the construction of

75th Anniversary, Flemington National Bank and Trust Company. Flemington, N.J.: The Bank, 1951. 32 pages.*

The Reverend Henry C. Beck and Hiram E. Deats have collaborated in the production of a bank history of unusual merit. Hiram Deats, trustee of this society, and director of the bank since 1892, is famous as a rich mine of historical information, ever generous with time and attention. Father Beck is now rector of Calvary Church in Flemington. They have portrayed the bank as the heart of community development, relating the past to the persons and places of today. With his characteristic informal style, Father Beck has created the impression of around-the-table reminiscing by the old-timers, for whom he is the sympathetic reporter. The result is an unusually succesful volume, interesting both for its content and as an example of anniversary histories at their best. The photographic illustrations are well chosen and very well reproduced.

—M.V.S.

*Items marked by asterisk may be consulted in the Society's library.

machines for fabricating corrugated paper board containers. This fiftieth-anniversary volume is noteworthy for its paper, illustrations, design, and the two-color printing used. Material is well presented.

Governors of New Jersey. By Frank H. Pierce, Jr. (Newark: *Newark News,* 1951. 63 pages.)* Short biographical sketches of New Jersey governors, 1776-1951, illustrated by Bill Canfield, staff artist of the *Newark News.* These stories which appeared in the *Newark Sunday News,* 1950-51, provide a concise history of our state as reflected in the lives of her governors. The reprint makes a large and attractive pamphlet.

Municipal Finance Administration; an Outline Summary of New Jersey Practice. By George C. Skillman. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 33 pages.)* Based on in-service training course in municipal finance administration, given under the auspices of the Bureau of Government Research. Gives a clear and complete picture, important to intelligent taxpayers.

New Jersey and Foreign Trade. By the U.S. Department of State. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951. 18 pages.) Prepared in response to requests for information and statistics. Illustrated with tables and charts, this report discusses the benefits of foreign trade to specific New Jersey industries, the expansion of New Jersey's exports, and the effect of trade agreements.

Plan Ahead, Forge Ahead, New Jersey for Industry. (Trenton: New Jersey Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1951. 30 pages.) Descriptive booklet on industrial advantages of New Jersey and its counties, with latest statistics. Distributed free.

Story of Island Beach. By John K. Terres. (Trenton, N.J.: Reprinted from *Audubon Magazine,* January-February 1952, for the New Jersey State Museum *Bulletin 5,* February 1952. 7 pages.) Free pamphlet, many photographic illustrations.

Vailsburg Crossroads, Sandford Avenue and South Orange Avenue, Newark, 1901-1951. (Newark, N.J.: Howard Savings Institution, 1951. 20 pages.) Illustrated pamphlet commemorating the opening of the Vailsburg branch of "the Howard," reprinted from the *Bee Hive,* a publication of the Howard Savings Institution.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

The bird's eye view of New Jersey in the magazines of 1951, presented in the January Proceedings, necessarily omitted some items appearing in the fall and winter of 1951. Combining these articles and the early output of 1952 has produced an astonishing amount of material for so small a state, albeit known as the "mighty atom of industry." To these are added a few important publications of earlier date. In the list below, this material has been broken into a number of interest

groups, the better to serve the extremely varied membership of the Society.

NEW JERSEY'S PAST

"Aaron Burr, Would-Be-Usurper," by John S. Pancake, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* April 1951, pp. 204-13.*

"Brigantine Beach," by Blanche R. Burbank, in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* October 1951, pp. 10-14.* Illustrated.

"Daniel Coxe and the New Mediterranean Sea Company," by Albright G. Zimmerman, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* January 1952, pp. 86-89.*

"The Deserted Village," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* April 1951, p. 17. Feltville, near Summit.

"The First Presbyterian Church of Cape May, 1851-1951," by Charlotte K. Stevens, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1951, pp. 146-62.*

"Francis Hopkinson and the Grammarians," by Thomas P. Haviland, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* January 1952, pp. 63-70.* Young Hopkinson criticizes his former Princeton teacher in satirical poems and pamphlet, now in the Du Simitiere Scraps Volume in the Free Library of Philadelphia. Du Simitiere was associated with Hopkinson as the designer of New Jersey's state seal.

"He Set America Singing: Lowell Mason, This Country's Greatest Hymn-Tune Composer," in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* January 1952, pp. 3-4 *ff.**

"Henry McNeel, His Horn," in *Old Print Shop Portfolio,* December 1951, p. 83.* McNeel, primitive artist of Totowa, N.J., made and inscribed in 1780 his own powder horn, here pictured and described.

"Heroine of the Tropics," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* February 1952, p. 19. Nurse Clara Louise Maas of Lutheran Memorial Hospital, Newark, heroine of 1901 yellow fever experiments, is honored by a commemorative postage stamp.

"The Historic and Beautiful Morris County," in *Recreation Development,* January 1952, p. 6.

"Household Appliances in New Jersey," in *Hobbies,* January 1952, p. 25. The New Jersey Historical Society's exhibition.

"Life in Vailsburg," in *The Bee-Hive,* Fall 1951, p. 2. Entire issue of this Howard Savings Institution house organ is devoted to the history of the borough of Vailsburg, now a section of Newark, where "The Howard" has just opened a branch bank.

"Lindley Murray, Grammarian," by Martha Hill Hommel, in *Hobbies,* December 1951, pp. 130-32, continued in January 1952 issue. Excerpts from *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lindley Murray, in a Series of Letters Written by Himself* (N.Y., 1827). Murray lived briefly in Burlington, N.J., during his youth.

"The Morris Guards," in *New Jersey Veteran,* November 1951, pp. 3-6. "Oldest independent military

organization in the U.S.," organized in Atlantic City, March 12, 1887.

"Nation's First Composer Was New Jersey Resident, Francis Hopkinson of Bordentown," in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* September 1951, pp. 9-10 *ff.**

"Nation's Second Composer: . . . James Lyon Won Greatest Fame as a Psalmodist," in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* October 1951, pp. 9, 27.* Newark-born clergyman, Princeton graduate.

"New Jersey's Geologic Past," by Carroll Lane Fenton, in New Jersey State Museum *Bulletin 4,* June 1951, pp. 2-8.

"The Ocean City Story," by Bertram Darby, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1951, pp. 135-45.*

"Operation Flint Chipping," by Charles F. Kier, Jr., in Archeological Society of New Jersey *News Letter,* No. 25, February 1952, pp. 9-10. Unalachtigo Chapter surveys flint quarry sites and aboriginal workshops at Greenwich and Flemington, N.J.

"Shipwrecks on Brigantine Beach," by Paul C. Burgess, in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* October 1951, pp. 149-50.* Excerpts; complete paper filed in the library, Somers Mansion, Somers Point.

"Some Old Houses of Cape May County," by Helena Way Fitzpatrick, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1951, pp. 163-76.* Part II.

"The Twenty-Five Years of the Passaic County Historical Society," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, July 1951, pp. 44-49.* From the record of Edward M. Graf, secretary.

NEW JERSEY'S GOVERNMENT

"Highfields One Year Later," in *Welfare Reporter,* October 1951, pp. 3-4 *ff.* New Jersey's experimental treatment project for youthful offenders, established at the former home of Colonel and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh.

"Price of a New Constitution: Years of Effort, Unselfish and Continuing Interest of Many, Financial Support, All Aids to Securing Revision," by James Kerney, Jr., in *National Municipal Review,* January 1952, pp. 14-17. Mr. Kerney, editor of the Trenton *Times,* was a member of the 1947 constitution convention.

"Use of Injunction in Enforcing Zoning and Planning Ordinances," by C. Conrad Schneider, in *New Jersey Municipalities,* February 1952, pp. 24-25. Development of zoning regulation since 1928, and test cases in enforcement, presented by the borough attorney of Alpine, N.J.

"Your County Government; Revenue and Finance," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton Magazine,* January 1952, pp. 9 *ff.** Fifth of a series dealing with Mercer County and its board of chosen freeholders.

GENEALOGICAL MATTERS

"Abstracts from the Town Book for the Township of Egg Harbor, 1794-1831," in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* October 1951, pp. 156-59.*

"Abstracts of Surveys and Deeds," by Olive Conover Rundstrom, in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* October 1951, pp. 151-55.*

"Adams Genealogy," comp. by Arthur Adams, in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* October 1951, pp. 136-42.* A continuing feature.

"Births and Deaths from the Egg Harbor-Cape May Monthly Meeting Records," in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* October 1951, pp. 161-65.*

"Family Groups Help Preserve Traditions," in *de Halve Maen,* October 1951, pp. 3, 11; continued in January 1952.* Notes on the Blauvelt, Van Kouwenhoven (Conover), Demarest, Van Voorhees, and Wyckoff family associations.

"Genealogical Dictionary of New Jersey" (continued), by Charles Carroll Gardner, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1949, pp. 31-38.* Anderson family.

"The Hughes Family of Cape May," by Stanley Williams, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1951, pp. 177-79.*

"Morris County Pension Applications of Revolutionary War Veterans" (continued), contributed by Henry W. Pilch, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1949, pp. 41-44.*

"Ocean County Gravestones: the Whitesville Cemetery," comp. by Arthur E. and Judida H. Pettie, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1949, pp. 25-30.*

"Records of the Dutch Congregations of Freehold and Middletown" (continued), in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1949, pp. 45-48.*

"South River Baptist Marriages by Elder Jenkin David," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1949, pp. 39-40.*

"The Van Kouwenhoven-Conover Family" (continued), by Lincoln C. Cocheu, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* October 1951, pp. 211-26.*

"The Mystery of Three Peter Stryker Marriages," by Mabel Spell, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* October 1951, pp. 196-201.* Two of the three Peters are of Millstone and New Brunswick, respectively.

"Seven Cape May County Soldiers of the Revolution," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1949, p. 40.* From MS. in Rutgers University Library.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

"Big Boss of the Big Port," by Lester Velie, in *Colliers Magazine,* February 9, 1952, pp. 18-19 *ff.* Control of the New York-New Jersey waterfront by William J. McCormack.

"The Case of the Gullible Bootlegger," by J. C. Furnes, in *Saturday Evening Post,* November 24, 1951. Bootleggers near Brielle, trapped by a U.S. Internal Revenue agent in disguise.

"Island Beach, Nature's Outpost," in *Shore and Beach,* October 1951, p. 22. Governor Driscoll has recommended that the state buy Island Beach and create a

state park in the last stretch of virgin wilderness on the Atlantic coast.

"Junior Essex Troop," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* January 1952, pp. 7-8. Squadron of horse cavalry, organized in 1931.

"New Jersey Fourth [in the Nation] in Settling Displaced Persons," in *Welfare Reporter,* February 1952, p. 9. New Jersey Commission on Displaced Persons, headed by Dr. William R. Ward, has helped settle fifteen thousand homeless European persons in this state.

"Seventieth Birthday for Newark Fine Art School," in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* December 1951, p. 21. Only professional art school in the United States sponsored by a city board of education.

"State's Own Theater, Paper Mill Playhouse," in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* September 1951, pp. 7-8.

"Thirty Years of Great Music," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* February 1952, pp. 7-9. The New Jersey Symphony Orchestra.

"A Waterfront Priest Battles," by Lester Velie, in *Colliers Magazine,* February 16, 1952, pp. 18-19 *ff.* The Reverend John M. Corridan, S.J., associate at the Xavier Labor School, New York, aids New York and New Jersey longshoremen against racketeers.

"Who's Trying to Ruin Our Schools?" by Arthur D. Morse, in *McCall's Magazine,* September 1951, pp. 26-27 *ff.* Englewood's experience in the attack on public education in the United States.

"A Word for Island Beach," by Shirley A. Griggs, in *Frontiers,* February 1952, pp. 74-77. The Philadelphia Academy of Science in its magazine joins New Jersey outdoor clubs of all types in recommending the preservation of Island Beach.

LEADERSHIP IN MANY FIELDS

"Berryman as Biographer, Stephen Crane as Poet," by Morgan Blum, in *Poetry,* August 1951, pp. 298-307. Critical review of John Berryman's *Stephen Crane* published in 1950.

"The Boards of Managers: 1. State Hospital at Marlboro," in *Welfare Reporter,* January 1952, pp. 17-19.

"The Boards of Managers: 2. State Hospital at Trenton," in *Welfare Reporter,* February 1952, pp. 16-17. Biographical sketches and photos of board members. To be continued.

"Colt Made Other Things," by William Edwards, in *Hobbies,* October 1951, pp. 32-33 *ff.* Colonel Samuel Colt of Paterson also worked on the "submarine mine" and on wires for the Morse telegraph.

"Edison's Life in Florida," by Robert K. Pepper, in *Hobbies,* December 1951, pp. 20-21. Edison's Fort Meyers estate, now a museum.

"A Gallery of Noteworthy New Jerseyans," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1952, pp. 14-15. The first of a series on eminent contemporaries briefly treats Governor Driscoll, Dr. Robert C. Clothier, Mrs. Parker O. Griffith, and Adele de Leeuw.

"He Wore His 'Red Badge of Courage,'" in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* January 1952, p. 12. An illustrated feature on Stephen Crane, unfortunately in error where it credits Newark Public Library with "most definitive" Crane collection. Crane material is scattered; collections are also at Syracuse University, Dartmouth College, and in the New York Public Library's Berg Collection. See note of correction in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1952.

"Portrait of Mark Silver," by Enid F. Karetneck, in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* October 1951, pp. 5-6 *ff.* Conductor of Hazomir Choral Society, Y.M.H.A., Newark.

"The Stimsons," by William H. Dilliston, in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, July 1951, p. 50.*

"Twelve at College Farm Have 35 Years of Service," in *New Jersey Agriculture,* September-October 1951, pp. 1, 4. Biographical sketches of leaders in agriculture and horticulture at State Agricultural College, New Brunswick.

"Twenty-Seven Who Believed in Justice; Trenton Six," by Bruce Bliven, in *New Republic,* October 22, 1951, pp. 13-15. Princeton committee for defense of the Trenton Six.

"Two Famous Colts," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, February 1951, pp. 37, 39.* Pioneer weavers and gunsmiths in Paterson.

"White Sales and Aristotle," by Dwight Macdonald, in *New Yorker,* February 2, 1952, pp. 30 *ff.*; February 9, 1952, pp. 39 *ff.*

TRANSPORTATION

"Atlantic City Trolley Lines, Camden and Atlantic Railroad, West Jersey and Seashore Railroad, Central Passenger Railway, Atlantic City and Suburban Traction Company, Atlantic City and Shore Railroad, Venice Park Railroad, Atlantic City Transportation Company," by William P. Hamilton III and Edward T. Francis, in *The Marker,* Vol 10, No. 1, February 1951, pp. 2-16.

"Edwin P. Alexander, Foremost Model Railroader, Starts a Series on Railroading Americana: This Month, Early American Locomotives," in *Railroad Model Craftsman,* January 1952, pp. 7-11. Includes plans of 1870 locomotive of Grant Locomotive works, Paterson.

"How New Jersey Built Its Dream Road," by Richard Thruelson, in *Saturday Evening Post,* December 8, 1951, pp. 36-37 *ff.* The Turnpike.

"The Line That Lumber Built," in *Via Port of New York,* February 1952, p. 17. Weyerhaeuser Lumber Company at Port Newark, largest lumber distributing port on the Atlantic coast.

"Motorist's Dream Come True," in *Prudential Home Office News,* January-February 1952, pp. 2-6. Human interest story on the New Jersey Turnpike, in whose bonds "The Pru" has invested.

"New Jersey Railroad Systems, Part II: Pennsylvania Railroad," by Donald Van Court, in *National*

Button Bulletin, September 1951, pp. 299-303. Donald Van Court, member of the Railroadians of America, writes on railway uniform buttons. Part I of his article is in March 1951 issue, p. 90.

"New Jersey Turnpike, Tomorrow's Highway Built Today" in *Civil Engineering,* January 1951, pp. 26-94. Thirteen special articles by Paul L. Troast, Charles M. Noble, and other members of Turnpike Authority staff.

"And Now, the Jersey Turnpike," in *The Lamp,* September 1951, pp. 15-17. Article on the building of the Turnpike in the house organ of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

"The Pioneer Erie," by Jim Allen Ross, in *Erie Railroad Magazine,* May 1951, pp. 4-9, 50-51. Centennial Issue devoted to the history of the Erie.

"Planning the New Jersey Turnpike," by Charles M. Noble, in *Traffic Quarterly,* January 1952, pp. 11-15. By chief engineer for the New Jersey Turnpike Authority.

"The Port Authority," by Joseph M. Byrne, Jr., in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1952, pp. 31-32. A commission "which develops and promotes transportation, trade and commerce."

"Turn Right at the Old Barn," by Theodore Maxfield, in *New Jersey Autoist,* January 1952, pp. 12-13; February 1952, pp. 8-9. Maxfield, pioneer automobile salesman in Bloomfield, charter early automobile routes for the New Jersey Automobile Club. [*Cont.*]

MY WORD

BEFORE passing on to more useful subjects, we would venture one last report concerning the new typography. Several dozen written and oral comments have reached the editor, all containing some word of satisfaction with the redesigned PROCEEDINGS. Two or three, indeed, have proposed further changes. The true effectiveness of our new typography, however, can be measured only in terms of the dual purpose for which it was adopted—to render the magazine attractive both to readers and to competent potential contributors. A growing backlog of articles submitted for publication would indicate some success in the latter area. And we are informed that several members of the Society, after long ignoring the magazine, took sudden notice of the face-lifted January issue and proceeded to read it through. This is the best compliment.

Now familiar with our two departments, "Director's Diary" and "New Jersey in Print," the reader must realize that it is no simple matter to assemble the information which they contain. For the notes on historical activities throughout the state, Mr. Wall is dependent largely upon the local societies, and most of these have responded eagerly. It is hoped that future issues can include news of *all* the local historical bodies.

"New Jersey in Print" represents a basic contribution, as there is no other source listing current publications about New Jersey. Here, too, the co-operation of readers is needed. While a few pretentious works are issued, most of the current historical output appears in the small but constant flow of pamphlet literature emanating from various parts of the state. These small histories, sometimes anniversary publications, deal chiefly with local concerns—churches, businesses, banks, societies, persons, families, and events—and are frequently assumed to be of no interest to the state historical society. By such mistaken modesty (or oversight, in some cases) the Society is forced to the laborious business of writing around the state to obtain these pamphlets, if and when their existence becomes known. Readers are fervently urged to send for the Society's library, and for notice in the PROCEEDINGS, copies of any new historical publications.

THE EDITOR.